Reconciling work and motherhood: The experience of Korean working mothers

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The Experience of Korean Working Mothers

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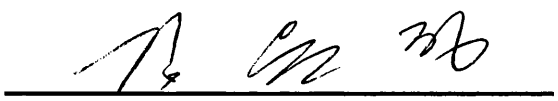

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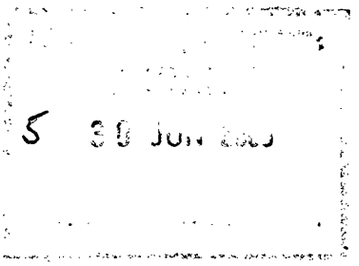

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Abstract

As has been observed in most developed countries, Korea has been witnessing a great integration of married women into the labour market since the 1980s. Along with the fear of low birth rate, supporting working mothers has become a key policy issue as well as an area of public concern in current Korean society. Since entering the third millennium, there has been significant policy reform in relation to childcare in Korea. Nevertheless, there seem to be little understanding about how women in Korea reconcile their role as mother and worker. In addition, the diversity in women's experience which may exist among different groups of women in Korea is often ignored. As women in one of the East Asian countries where the state plays a marginal role in social care provision, it has been assumed that Korean mothers have depended on their family members to combine work and motherhood. This argument may not be denied, however, their reconciliation process between work and motherhood has to be further investigated to examine the diversities among the different groups of mothers in terms of their class and marital status.

This research is a combination of analysis of existing secondary data combined with in-depth interviews with 49 working mothers with pre-school children. In-depth interviews are used to examine the nature and dynamics of the mothers' reconciliation process between work and motherhood. Focusing both on employment patterns and on childcare arrangements, various strategies to combine work and motherhood are presented in this study. The research casts a light on how both external circumstances and the attitude and values of the mothers towards their work and motherhood operate in the reconciliation process.

Unlike what one would expect in Korea, the so called 'Confucian/Familial welfare states', this study shows that the family is a rather limited option for certain groups of mothers. It is strongly related to families' position in the social structure, with low educational level and less favourable occupational categories determining low level of family support. In the actual outcome, as a consequence, not all mothers in this study could rely on their family members for managing work and motherhood. However, this study also reveals that the family still plays a significant role in mothers' reconciliation

process. Especially for children under aged 2 or 3, most mothers searched for alternative childcare providers from their extended family network, and their reconciliation process between work and motherhood often includes another reconciliation process between mothers themselves and their extended family members. Therefore, this study calls for shifting the focus from the individual perspective to the extended family embedment perspective, in explaining how Korean women reconcile work and motherhood. For working mothers in Korea, their reconciliation process in regard to work and motherhood has to be understood in the dynamic family processes that are shaped by the context of class and gender within which they are situated.

Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Introduction

As elsewhere in the industrialised world, motherhood in South Korea has been in a process of modernisation. As part of this process, there have been significant changes in the role of women which now very often encompasses both caring and gainful employment. According to Korean national statistics, almost half of women in Korea are now economically active.[1] Since 1980, there has been a significant increase in the labour force participation of married women, registering 35.6 per cent in 1980 and 52 per cent in 2002 (Korean Women's Development Institute,[2] 1991; Korean National Statistical Office,[3] 2003a). During the 1990s in particular, a remarkable upward movement in labour force participation rates among women in the 25-29 age group, which is the group most likely to be in their early motherhood, is observed (see chapter 3 for details). It used to be the case that working-class women with less education had the most likelihood of employment. In the beginning of the new century, however, three-fifths of women who have had university education participate in the labour market (KNSO, 2003a). The increased instability of employment after the economic crisis between 1997 and 1998 in East Asia, together with women's growing desire for self-achievement, have changed the attitudes of people in general and of women in particular towards the appropriateness of female employment (Chang, J-Y. and Bu, G-C., 2003; Shin, K-A., 1999). The time when most women in Korea, especially middle-class, are supposed to be full-time housewives seems to have gone.

While the earning role has been rapidly integrated into Korean motherhood, however, there seem to have been no significant changes in the conventional role of women as the primary carer. Although attitudinal surveys in Korea have shown more than half of dual earner couples agree with the principle of the equal sharing of housework and childcare between men and women, in practice the actual involvement of men in

[1] 48.9 per cent in 2003 (KNSO, 2004); 49.8 per cent in 2004 (http://www.nso.go.kr).
[2] Hereafter referred to as KWDI
[3] Hereafter referred to as KNSO

domestic chores is far behind the ideals that they have reported (Cho, H. *et al.*, 2003). For instance, more than 90 per cent of married women reported that they themselves did most of the housework. Only about six per cent reported they shared the domestic work with their husbands equally (KNSO, 1998). Furthermore, time use survey data also shows the huge difference between men and women in housework; 32 minutes for men per day against 3 hours and 58 minutes for women (Kim, T.-H., 2001). This domestic gender arrangement of labour directly indicates the heavy dual burden for Korean working mothers. In addition, it also tends to imply that Korean women's labour market participation is less constant and more likely to be interrupted by periods of childcare than that of Korean men. According to the 2002 Yearbook on Social Statistics (KNSO, 2003b), childcare responsibility is regarded as the most significant obstacle for women who combine work and family.

In recent years, there have been burgeoning discussions about ways of reducing women's dual burden of caring and earning. Especially given the lowest total fertility rates in Korean history which were at just 1.17 in 2002 (KNSO, 2003c), reconciling work and childcare responsibility becomes a key political and public concern, and significant welfare reforms towards supporting mothers in their efforts to balance work and family responsibilities have been introduced. As the OECD report on early education and care in Korea (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2004) pointed out, however, some significant aspects are largely missing in current Korean policy debates on the childcare issue. For instance, it is hard to find any national discussion about childhood, such as how children can be taken care of best or whether collective childcare would be proper for infants and toddlers. Such absence in political debates partly reflects the lack of concern and understanding about mothers' reconciling processes. Even though there are number of studies which have looked at the working mothers issue in social policy since the 1980s, those studies mainly focused on childcare needs and types of childcare arranged by working mothers in Korea and argued that there was a lack of service provision, while seeking additional government support for childcare service in the public sector. According to Western experience, where attention has been paid to the issue of reconciling work and motherhood much earlier than in the East, however, it turns out that the issue of work and family for women is much more complicated than one would expect. For instance,

mothers are not only considering what is available and affordable, but also 'what is the meaning of work?', 'what is the best for their children?' and 'what is being a good mother?' (Garey 1999; Hattery, 2001; Duncan and Edwards, 1997, 1999; Duncan *et al.* 2003; Duncan and Strell, 2004). Without a comprehensive understanding about the processes of mothers' reconciliation between work and family, therefore, it would be difficult to set the policy direction which is most efficient for supporting working mothers to combine work and family.

This thesis examines the everyday experience of working mothers in Korea and how they reconcile work and care both practically and ideologically. Before I set out the main themes and approaches of this study, the first section focuses on a brief discussion about the nature of the East Asian welfare state, and especially the relationship between the state and the family.

1.1 South Korea in the East Asian welfare regime: state and family

In comparative studies on welfare states, there has been relatively long debate about the nature of the East Asian welfare system.[4] Attention has been focused on whether the regime can be distinguishable from that of the West, and if so how the independent path of the welfare state evolution of these countries can be explained. There is still disagreement about whether East Asia can be seen as another unique welfare state regime or whether it is no more than a hybrid of conservative and liberal welfare regimes (Esping-Anderson, 1997). Nevertheless, two main theoretical approaches in explaining the path to the East Asian welfare regime have gained currency in contemporary welfare states debates: one is a cultural and the other is a political economic perspective. Focusing on cultural tradition in East Asia, scholars including Jones (1990, 1993) and Rieger and Leibfried (2003) argued that welfare states in East Asian countries are critically conditioned by Confucianism. In particular, Rieger and Leibfried (2003: 243) argue that 'the Confucian elements of social organisation and

[4] East Asian countries in comparative social policy study usually include South Korea, Taiwan, Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore.

culture have (until now) impeded a more far-reaching institutionalisation of social policy as an independent formative power vis-à-vis economy and society'. On the other hand, its productivist approach emphasises the economic objectives in most state policies; 'In a productivist state, the perceived necessity of building a society capable of driving forward growth generates some clear tasks for social policy, led by education but also taking in all other sectors. Even the quintessentially unproductive domain of social security can have a role to play in creating basic social safety nets that are conducive to the smooth operation of the labour market and the maintenance of social order' (Holliday, 2005: 148).

No matter how the welfare state's development in East Asian countries is explained, it is now generally acknowledged that the state in the most developed parts of East Asia such as South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong get involved in social policy for essentially instrumental reasons focused on economic growth and political legitimation (Kwon, H-J., 1999; Holliday, 2005). In these countries, there is no autonomous social policy area that can be found in developed western nations, and hence they have been described as 'missing welfare states' (Rieger and Leibfried, 2003) or 'oikonomy'(Jones, 1990, 1993). However, still they have their own way of managing social welfare without much involvement of the state. At the very centre of this 'missing' welfare state, there is a strong family and household strategy for both finance and care (Jones, 1993; Gough, 2004).

Indeed, the family has been known as the key provider of the welfare and care role in East Asian countries, while the state is still confined to regulation rather than provision in social care (Jacob, 1998). The expectation towards the family in providing welfare adds a great burden to women who are now going out to work. Therefore, this has been often pointed out as one of the down sides of the East Asian welfare regime. For instance, White and Goodman (1998:18) argued that 'the heavy reliance on the welfare role of the family has serious implications for gender relations and the position of women. The model rests implicitly on a context in which women are the main carers within the family and therefore potentially imposes an extra load on top of their double burden of housework and paid employment'.

Parallel with the debates about the nature of the East Asian welfare regime among Western scholars, there has been an on-going debate about the characteristics of the Korean welfare regime among Korean scholars both in English literature and Korean literature itself. Focusing on the welfare reforms[5] implemented by the Kim Dae-Jung government between 1998-2002, in particular, Korean scholars have considered whether this reform could be interpreted as a significant paradigmatic shift broken off from the past or whether it represents continuity with the previous characteristics of 'missing' welfare states (e.g. Shin, D-M., 2000; Kim Y-M., 2002; Chung, M-K., 2002; Nam, C-S., 2002; Kim Y-B., 2002). Partly due to the immaturity of Korean welfare states, it is too early to make a firm conclusion about the characteristics of the Korean welfare regime. However, it has been said that the Korean welfare regime is neither minimal in its social realm which could be a cheap alternative to western welfare states (Ramesh, 2003), nor is it maximal whereby the state replaces the market or family role (Holliday, 2005).

With regard to recent policy reform in childcare policy towards supporting mothers in their efforts to balance work and family responsibilities, a similar argument can be made. We clearly see that the state has taken progressive welfare reforms throughout the previous and current governments. For instance, the Kim Dae-Jung government extended maternity leave from 60 days to 90 days and made parental leave more attractive to working parents by introducing a flat rate income replacement. Tax credit for childcare costs was also introduced (Lee, H-K, 2004). The Rho Moo-Hyun government (2003-current) has recently taken away the article mentioning parental responsibility for childcare from the amended Child Care Act[6] in 2004, while it makes the responsibility of central/local governments and employers for providing a childcare service become a compulsory regulation. These changes would be enough to give an impression of a significant shift in the government's attitude towards their role with regard to childcare. However, there is a large shadow of minimal intervention principle

[5] There were significant reforms in both social insurance and social security programme during this era. For instance, the national health system was restructured and expanded, pension entitlements were liberalised and an expanded Labour Standard Law and the National Basic Livelihood Security Act were introduced. In addition, expenditure on unemployment insurance, wage subsidies and public works programmes escalated to 4 per cent of GDP in 1999. (For the details see, Shin, D-M., 2000; Kwon, H-J., 2002; Lee, H-K., 2004; Ahn, S-H. and Lee, S-J., 2005).

[6] This Act is also called 'Infant Care Act'

in the current policy reform. Firstly, the responsibility between the state and employers seems to be shared disproportionately. It shoulders much a heavier burden on employers rather than the state. In childcare provision, for instance, the responsibility of employers for establishing childcare centres at the work-place for their employees is going to be amended to those with over 300 employees in total from over 300 *female* employees.[7] For central/local governments, on the other hand, there is no significant change in the boundary of their responsibility as direct service provider. As they used to do, they take charge of providing childcare services for children in low-income families and families in rural areas. Secondly, even if an explicit regulation about parental responsibility for childcare has been removed from the law, the large proportion of working mothers in Korea are still expected to bear the childcare cost. So far, employers' participation into childcare provision for their employees has not yet emerged a great deal even before the recent amendment (Won and Pascall, 2004). In addition, the 2004 amendment of the Child Care Act currently faces strong resistance from the Korean Employers' Association (www.womenlink.or.kr/archive/files/labour). In the case of its childcare leave policy, furthermore, 100 per cent income replacement for maternity leave is covered by the employer for the first 60 days, and by the Employment Insurance Fund[8] for the remaining 30 days (Lee, H-K., 2004). Since the Employment Insurance Fund is financed by contributions from employers and employees without the government's contribution, apart from administration costs, however, the financial responsibility for this leave, in fact, falls upon the employer and employees (Kwon, H-J., 2002). The flat-rate income compensation for parental leave is also redeemed from the Employment Insurance Fund. To sum up, the responsibility of childcare is more likely to be shared between parents and employers, rather than between employers and the state.

In spite of recent welfare reforms for supporting working mothers in Korea, a significant paradigmatic shift from the previous characteristics of the Korean welfare regime cannot yet be observed. The Korean welfare state is in many ways in transition. However, as Holliday (2005) points out, there seems to be no shift towards replacing the central role of the family.

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[7] According to Enforcement Decree Child Care Act amended in 2005, however, this has finally fixed as those who have '300 *female* employees or 500 employees' (Article 20).

[8] Employment insurance in Korea is the same as 'Unemployment Insurance' in other countries.

1.2 Themes and approaches of the study

This study examines how Korean mothers reconcile work and motherhood in a context where family (especially women) have been defined primarily as care providers and where the welfare state plays a marginal role in social care provision, but where the role of women appears to be extending into the public sphere through great integration of married women into the labour market. The thesis is based on in-depth research with women who are, or have been, combining paid employment with the care of their young children. In general much of the social policy research in Korea on this issue to date is found in the aggregate picture of employment trends, childcare usage and social care provision (e.g. Kim, T.-H, 2000; Suh, M-H, 2002; Hwang, S-K, 2003; Nam, C-S, 2002). Only a few feminist studies have recently provided a much more detailed picture of women's experience, using qualitative data (e.g. Sung, S. 2003; Won and Pascal, 2004). These studies have focused in particular on Confucian traditions such as strong family solidarity and gender differentiated roles and shown how this has impacted on the state's minimal involvement in care provision and on women's everyday life. It cannot be denied that these feminist studies certainly contribute to enhance our understanding about women's experience in the Korean context. Nevertheless, they would be more valuable if they were further supplemented in the following respects. By holding a static view on Confucianism, firstly, these studies have not captured how this tradition has changed. Even though it cannot be denied that Korean society has been deeply rooted in Confucian values and that this has affected women's experience and the policy arena both implicitly and explicitly, it is also true that Korean society has changed rapidly during the last several decades. In a similar vein, another shortcoming of feminist studies on women's experience in Korea is that they do not consider the differences that exist among the groups of women. They regard women as one single group who share the same interests and experiences, and hence fail to appreciate diversities among the different groups of women in Korea. In addition, women are rarely seen as having agency, as people who make their own decision and construct their own lives. Even though an individual woman cannot be free from the influence of the dominant culture, the ways and degrees of the impact cannot be the same for all women.

Along with the particular emphasis on the diversities of women's experience in both the process and outcome of reconciliation, this study also examines the role of the family in that process. The key research questions for this study are as follows:

- How do Korean working mothers reconcile work and motherhood (the process) and what are the working mothers' strategies to combine work and motherhood (the outcome)?
- How far do the reconciliation process and the outcome differ among women in different socio-economic backgrounds?
- How does family support, seen as the main characteristic of the Korean welfare state, operate in the reconciliation process and outcome of working mothers?
- What are the implications of the findings from the everyday experience of women for future policy direction in Korea?

Through obtaining a comprehensive understanding about women's reconciliation process in Korea, this research will contribute firstly to feminist studies on Korean women, and develop these by examining the women's divergent experience. Secondly it will contribute to East Asian studies by showing the ways of organising childcare in women's everyday life. Providing a deeper understanding about Korean mothers' decision making processes with regard to employment and their childcare responsibilities, furthermore, this study will also contribute both to theories which explain maternal employment with regard to childcare responsibility and to policy direction in Korea.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

On this basis, the thesis is structured as follows: In Chapter 2, I present the theoretical framework within which my study is set. Starting with a discussion of different theoretical perspectives on mothers' employment behaviour in relation to their childcare responsibilities, the first section provides an insight into understanding women's reconciliation process of work and motherhood. The second section of this chapter discusses the actual outcome of the mothers' reconciliation process. Along

with childcare and employment response as the main observable outcomes of the reconciliation process, I argue that women may adopt or develop new ideologies or views on motherhood as a way of reconciling in order to reduce tension between the two roles, earning and caring. Considering all the literature I have reviewed, I suggest an integral view on examining work and motherhood reconciliation of Korean working mothers as a framework for this study.

In order to understand the Korean context in which the social practice of motherhood performs, chapter 3 discusses the influence of Confucian ideals on gender relation, the role of the state in childcare policy, and the transformation of motherhood in Korea. Taking a historical view, this chapter especially addresses how far ideology, policy and women's employment have changed and the extent to which they are in accord with each other. Based on the Confucian ideal and economic structural shift in Korea, firstly, the major changes in gender culture and motherhood are traced. The second section of chapter 3 examines how far the state has supported working mothers in respect of childcare services. The final section considers the modernisation of motherhood in Korea.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodology of the in-depth interviews. It explains the rationale for using a qualitative method for researching working mothers and their everyday practice. It discusses the strengths and weaknesses of the sample, and the lessons that researchers have to bear in mind when they conduct intensive interviews, especially with those who are not used to in-depth interviewing and with those who have difficulties to give time for interviews. A general outline of the characteristics of research participants is given.

The results of in-depth interviews with 49 working mothers are presented in chapters 5-7. The chapters are divided according to the type of mothers' employment response. Although there are various ways of presenting the findings, this way seems to be the most appropriate way to address dissimilarities and similarities among mothers in different social classes and family types. Mothers who decided to reduce their work commitment in various ways are examined in chapters 5 and 6. The main focuses of these two chapters are why they decided to make the change they did and how external

resources and internal constraints operate in the reconciliation process. In particular the analysis explains the differences between the different groups of mothers. While the majority of mothers in the study have brought some changes in their employment, there was also a significant minority of women who have been working full-time throughout their lives without any changes in their employment. Chapter 7 is concerned with these mothers, questioning how they were able to manage both work and motherhood without reducing their work commitment, and whether this led to significant renegotiations of traditional motherhood ideology and gender relation. This final group of mothers in particular helps us to look in depth into the potential of women as agents who might change gender relations, since they do not follow the typical female norm in their employment pattern.

Before moving onto the discussion and conclusion, Chapter 8 more specifically looks at the individual, rather than collective, types of childcare that were arranged during the first several months or years of their children's lives. Family and other individual types of childcare are the main area of concern and, in particular, this highlights the ways of using family members and the reason why mothers say they prefer family care. It does illustrate the influence of the welfare state's policies on mothers' everyday lives as well as the influence of women's everyday practices on structural change.

Drawing all the arguments together, the final chapter of the thesis returns to some of the issues raised in the introduction. With regard to the 'diversity' issue in women's experience, it summarises similarities and differences among mothers in different social classes and family types with regard to their reconciliation processes and the outcomes. In the second section, the importance of the educational needs of their children and the role of the extended family in the mothers' reconciliation processes and outcome are discussed. Even though the extended family may not provide resources for helping working mothers to combine work and motherhood, working mothers still have to justify their decision related to work and motherhood within the extended family. This finding indicates that Korean mothers' reconciliation is related not only to their identities as workers and as mothers but also as daughters-in-law. As a consequence, the Korean mothers' reconciliation process often goes beyond their individual household. Discussions on the caring function of the family go further in the

following section, where continuities and limits are focused. Drawing upon the recent policy reforms and political debates on supporting working mothers in Korea, the final section discusses the implications for future policy directions.

Chapter 2

Reconciling work and motherhood

This chapter reviews both English and Korean literature on the issue of reconciling work and motherhood. Those studies which explain why and how women combine work and family are of particular concern, as this research examines both the processes and outcomes of mothers' reconciliation. The first section focuses on mothers' reconciliation process by reviewing three theories that explain why some mothers work and others do not. The second section looks at the outcome of mothers' reconciliation process by focusing on the ways of combining work and care. The third section discusses the broader context including the welfare state and the organisation of employment, which may limit or facilitate individual mothers' reconciliation. Combining all the literature which I have reviewed in this chapter, the framework of this study will be presented in the final section.

2.1 Process of the reconciliation: understanding mothers' employment

This section presents three theoretical positions which seek to explain women's employment behaviour. These are, 'new household economy', the 'individualisation /preference theory', and the 'moral negotiation theory'. Each theory has its own view about what could be the main impetus in the mothers' decision-making process with regard to their employment. In particular, each theory is discussed in conjunction with the possible goals that mothers may want to pursue through their reconciliation.

Financial benefit & new household economy

It is difficult to deny the economic benefit of employment in any cases and often financial necessity becomes a powerful impetus of mother's labour market

participation (Cho, H-K. and Lee, Y-S., 1998). This is true particularly for most working-class mothers who have insufficient family income without their own earnings. For those who wish to uphold a certain standard of living, furthermore, 'economic benefit' could also be the main impetus to combine work and motherhood. Even if the financial benefit of a mother's employment is not the only reason, studies on Korean working mothers show that mothers' income plays an essential role in maintaining their home economy. For instance, Kim, Y. (1997) shows that working mothers in the sales, finance and medical service sectors contribute to the total family income by 37 per cent on average, and two-fifths of total respondents report that the proportion of family income that they contribute is between 41 and 50 per cent. The main usage of the income of those mothers includes the living cost at the largest proportion, followed by mortgage and education cost for their children. This result indicates that mothers' income cannot be assumed as additional or supplementary for their family.

If the main reason for combining motherhood with work is gaining economic benefit for the family, then the economist assumption on human behaviour might provide us with a most likely picture of mother's negotiation process. In economic tradition, men and women are assumed as 'rational actors' who make decisions in order to maximise the utility in their own self-interest, and calculations between the perceived economic costs and benefits are the most important in understanding human behaviour (Becker, 1981; Polachek, 1981). Mothers, as 'rational economic men', thus reconcile work and family by seeking to use their human capital to secure the highest possible wage in the labour market, subject to constraints and the competing level of the 'reservation wage' of staying at home. In a household, for instance, men's and women's human capital in the market place would be assessed as well as the costs and benefits of providing childcare. After measuring the complex array of options available for them, the most efficient one for meeting the needs of the family will be selected.

A strong body of empirical studies is based on this operational assumption that individuals are engaging in a cost-benefit analysis in the process of decision-making, and this economic rationality has been widely accepted in social policy sciences. In particular, maternal employment behaviour has been understood in its relationship with

structural factors, such as their potential wage, occupational opportunity, household types and economic needs as well as childcare cost and availability (Gerson, 1985; Hochschild, 1989, 1997; Barrow, 1999; Hwang, S-K., 2003; Suh, M-H., 2002).

Achieving personal autonomy & the individualisation theory

According to essentialist feminist views, joining in the labour market for women is translated as 'emancipation' from unpaid-caring work and from economic dependence on men and also means getting full citizenship as well as gender equality (Bang, Jenson, and Pfau-Effinger, 2000). For women, contrary to men, the degree of 'commodification', that is, to what extent women are integrated into the labour market, is regarded as a significant indicator, which shows the degree of autonomy women can achieve. As a consequence, women's involvement in the labour force has been of particular interest to feminist scholars. The main focus of gender sensitive studies on welfare states has been how far the welfare state facilitates women to be free from caring work, and supports them to combine work and motherhood (eg. Leira, 1992; Lewis, 1992; Siim, 1993; Windbank, 1999).

The ultimate goal of working mothers' reconciling work and motherhood in this case is given to achieving autonomy (or gender equality in general), rather than to economic benefit itself. In addition, financial benefit is not regarded as for the family as it is in human capital theory or in new household economics, but has a more individual purpose. It cannot be denied that financial independence empowers women to achieve personal autonomy in the most significant way and it does particularly so as it is a capitalist society. However personal autonomy would mean much more than economic independence. For instance, having a status in the public sphere, regardless of how much they earn, can also give mothers a sense of being autonomous. If we broaden our perspective on personal autonomy, various social reasons that mothers give for working can be understood within this category. Seeking an identity other than as mother or wife, desiring to have a separate world of her own and wishing to be a part of a broader society as well as being in contact with other adults instead of being isolated at home with a child, these all could well be the reflection of mothers' desires toward personal autonomy that can be achieved through a working life. In their study

on middle-class mothers in Australia, Lupton and Schmied (2002) find most of the women in their study felt unable to remain out of the paid workforce because of the importance that they attached to achieving self-fulfilment and self-actualisation through such work. In the case of Korea, Chang, J-Y. and Bu, G-C. (2003) found that only one-fifth of the working mothers in their study wanted to leave the labour market if their financial situation allowed them to do so, while the rest of the mothers held strong identities as workers so that they wanted to keep their work regardless of their economic circumstances. These studies imply that mothers may not always be engaging in a cost-benefit analysis in their negotiation about work and motherhood.

This social dimension of employment would be consistent with claims about individualisation such as have been made by Beck (1992) and Giddens (1992). According to them the process of individualisation, which is in part driven by mother's increasing labour market participation, leads women to rethink and to choose their own biographies and life-styles, instead of following the predetermined gender role. Women thereby see an identity as paid workers as part of the development of their self. Applying this individualisation thesis, Hakim (2000, 2002) proposed the preference theory to explain the ways in which women combine family and paid employment. The basic assumption of Hakim's 'preference theory' is that women make different choices about their commitment to paid work and to family life according to their values and goals, and this results in three distinct groups of women: home-centred, work-centred and adaptive. Family oriented women may work after marriage but prefer not to, or not to work much. Career oriented women might leave the labour force for a time, but prefer to remain employed. Adaptive women prefer to combine employment and family work without giving a fixed priority to either.

There has been of course considerable controversy around Hakim's ideas. In particular, a crucial objection originates in its neglect of structural and cultural factors such as organisations, occupations and workplaces for shaping women's choices (e.g. Fagan and Rubery, 1996; Crompton and Harris, 1998). Furthermore, her theory can be applied only to women living in affluent societies[1] and even for those who live in such

[1] According to Hakim, her theory can be applied only for women living in affluent societies where there have been historical changes in the following five aspects: 1) the contraceptive revolution, 2) the equal

affluent societies, only a minority of women desire an exclusive focus on either career or family, with the majority shifting between family and employment over their lives as their circumstances change. Therefore, the extent to which this preference theory actually can explain women's reconciliation process and the outcome between work and family is limited. Nevertheless, Hakim at least provides a new insight for understanding mothers' reconciliation process by moving from an analysis of structural incompatibilities between employment and motherhood to personal orientations and values towards work and family.

Realising self-identity & the moral negotiation theory

Another dimension on women's reconciling work and motherhood can be drawn from the studies focusing on mothers' beliefs on appropriate roles (Garey, 1999; Hattery, 2001; Duncan and Edwards, 1997, 1999; Duncan *et al.* 2003). According to these studies, representing a particular definition of self becomes the main impetus of working mothers' reconciliation strategy. In their study of lone mothers, for instance, Duncan and Edwards (1997, 1999) found that women varied in their understanding of their identities and responsibilities towards their children. For instance, some mothers held a certain position that gave primacy to the benefits of physically caring for their children themselves, without questioning the responsibility for doing the best for their children (which the authors call the 'primarily mother'). Other mothers gave primacy to paid work for themselves as separate to their identity as mothers (primarily workers) and others to full-time employment as part of good mothering (mother/worker integral). Similar to Hakim's theory, this also focuses on personal attitudes and values in explaining women's work and care reconciliation. However, as Duncan and Edwards have argued, these understandings of mothers are negotiated and maintained within social networks and this provides answers to, or guidance on, the right and responsible thing to do as a mother. Therefore, in their decision between work and care, mothers take the reference to 'moral and socially negotiated (not individual) views about what behaviour is right and proper, not just for themselves but for others'.

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opportunities revolution, 3) the expansion of white-collar occupations, 4) the expansion of part-time jobs, and 5) the increasing importance of personal preferences in individual life style choices.

This is what they call 'gendered moral rationalities' or 'post-modern moral negotiation' (Duncan *et al.*, 2003).

Similar to Duncan and Edwards, Garey (1999) argues that the mothers' identity plays a significant role in their strategy to combine work and motherhood. In her study on working mothers with different employment patterns, she focuses on the ability that human beings have to reflect, which enables them to shape or alter their behaviours so that they act in ways that are intended to represent particular definitions of self. According to her arguments, people are therefore indicating through their actions their definitions of self, and their definitions of self are, in turn, used to guide their actions. The employment and care strategies of women are seen as a way of thinking about and representing oneself that attempts to reconcile actions with a sense of self. Especially, working mothers construct their conduct as mothers in relation to a set of expectations associated with the social position of mothers rather than that of workers. This is firstly because there are strong cultural expectations for how someone who holds the social position of 'mother' is supposed to feel and behave. Secondly, it is 'mother' that linguistically stands for the essential self when women go from being 'working women' to being 'working mothers'. 'Working' is an activity but 'mother' is an identity (ibid. 11). As Duncan and Edwards have also argued, women's understanding about being 'a good mother' is the key factor in their reconciliation process and outcome.

Here the focus changes from 'what they want/prefer' to 'how they should act', and this 'how they should act' is largely influenced by social norms and the interaction with others in social networks. Therefore, as Duncan and Edwards have pointed out, social ties and moral responsibilities are placed in the centre stage. This means that the identity as a mother is not constructed in isolation. It is influenced by social norms and forged in interactions with others (Himmelweit and Sigala, 2004). In this regard, the social prescription of 'what it is to be moral' in contemporary society seems particularly important when mothers consider work and the care of their children.

Mothers do not, however, simply accept social norms or respond to them automatically. Instead, they interpret, adapt, reject or negotiate social norms (Blumer

1969, cited in Garey, 1999: 24). Even though there are dominant ideologies and social expectations in a particular context, mothers may have different ideological positions about motherhood and hence different images of self. This is well presented in Hattery's (2001) work.

In her study on American working mothers, Hattery (2001) finds that beliefs about motherhood shape the range of solutions women find for managing work and family life, as well as the actual strategies women employ. Hattery categorises four groups of women according to their ideological position on motherhood; conformists, non-conformists, pragmatists, innovators. Each type bears some degree of 'intensive motherhood ideology' as she defines; the hegemonic norm that stresses innate differences between the sexes that results in their differing childcare abilities, mothers as the preferred child care providers and women's fulfilment of their gender role through mothering. The first group of mothers, the conformists, adheres to the dominant standard. They insist that women should exit the labour force when they have children, and leave men to be the sole breadwinners. By contrast, the nonconformists refuse the dominant motherhood ideology, instead they define the mothering role as both carer and provider, and make labour force choices that reflect their belief in economic and individual achievement. The other two groups of women, the pragmatists and the innovators, are somewhere in between the previous two categories. They accept to some extent the 'intensive motherhood ideology' but also they desire economic and individual achievement as well. Therefore, the pragmatists regularly engage in a cost-benefit analysis of job options according to family demands. Hence, their resultant strategy is frequent changes in employment status, employers, and childcare arrangements. In the case of innovators, however, they may not make changes as frequently as pragmatists. Instead, they are creating and negotiating various ways of being a worker as well as a mother through opting for homework, non-overlapping shift work between spouses, or running their own business.

Hattery's study shows that mothers have different ideological positions on their motherhood and hence their identity. This indicates that mothers do not automatically accept the dominant view on motherhood and therefore competing ideologies on

motherhood can exist. Their view on the appropriate role as mother can also result in different strategies regarding employment and childcare.

2.2 Outcome of the reconciliation: ways of combining work and care

This section focuses on ways of combining work and care. In order to combine work and motherhood, women have to reduce their work commitment and/or arrange alternative childcare. In addition, women may also develop their own ideological position, instead of following the predominant ideologies in order to reduce tension between two roles, earning and caring. The ideological adjustment that mothers might have to make is discussed as another possible aspect of the reconciliation outcome, together with types of childcare and employment patterns.

Childcare arrangement

Childcare can be carried out in various ways. It could be provided at home or at centres, by professionals or neighbours, paid or non-paid. These various ways have often been caught in private and public, formal and informal dichotomies. Noticing a much wider range of childcare in working mothers' everyday lives, however, Leira (1992) argues that the distinctions made between formal and informal, paid and unpaid, private and public care-giving are too simple to show the diversity of childcare arrangements. In particular, emerging patterns and processes in childcare structure developed by individual mothers in their everyday practice through social support networks or reciprocity systems cannot be fitted within the above typology, she argues. As a consequence, Leira presents a more diversified picture of everyday childcare by distinguishing four different institutions where the care is produced. These include family/household, social network/self-help organisations, the informal labour market (an informal economy) and the formal labour market. The second institution, social network based on kinship, friendship and neighbourly relations, and the third category, however often blur since network relations can be easily commercialised through cash payment for their childminding (ibid: 38-39).

There is another useful typology of childcare which is from Windbank's (1996) comparative study on childcare arrangement. According to social and economic relations within which childcare is undertaken, Windbank (1996) suggests four principal types of childcare: individual paid, individual unpaid, collective paid and collective unpaid care. Childminders and nannies are included under the category of individual paid care, while individual unpaid care includes care by friends, neighbours and kin, either on an explicitly reciprocal basis or on a non-reciprocal basis. Paid collectivised care encompasses childcare centres such as nurseries and crèche facilities which can be run by either the private markets or public sector. Non-paid collectivised care, on the other hand, refers to free pre-school education as a part of the national education system or voluntary sector provisions, such as play groups.

There is an increasing volume of Korean literature on childcare issues including the types of childcare arranged by working mothers and their need for non-parental childcare provision (e.g. Lee, M-S., 2000; Hwang, B-R., 1998; Suh, Y-S. and Kim, K-H., 1997; Kim, H-S., 1994, 1995; Park, S-J., 1992; Byun, H-S., 1989; We, M-H., 1988; Kim *et al.*, 1987; Min, J-Y., 1985). According to these empirical studies mainly based on survey data, there has been a significant movement in working mothers' childcare arrangements. From earlier studies (Min, J-Y., 1985; Kim, *et al.,* 1987; We, M-H., 1988; Byun, H-S., 1989), it is evident that most working mothers had no particular arrangement for childcare other than relying on family members who lived in the same household. For those who had no other adult members who stayed at home (this was the typical case of working mothers in urban area), their children were often left alone or stayed with their mother at work but without proper supervision. In Min's (1985) study on working mothers in the textile industry, for instance, 42 per cent of the sample relied on their parents for childcare, while only less than three per cent used childcare centres. One fifth of the sample consisted of mothers without any alternative childcare arrangement for their children.[2] More recent studies, however, show that the proportion of working mothers without regular childcare arrangements has reduced to less than 10 per cent (e.g. Park, S-J., 1992; KWDI, 1992). Instead, collective childcare

[2] Studies of We, M-H. (1988) and Byun, H-S. (1989) show that the proportion of mothers without any childcare arrangement was even higher than in Min's study.

(daycare centres) became the most popular arrangement especially for children aged 4-6 (Kim, H-S., 1994).

In recent years, Korean literature on working mothers has tended to focus on a particular group of mothers such as those who have children under the age of 3 (e.g. Lee, M-S., 2000), those with particular occupations (e.g. Lee, M-H., 1993; Kim H-S., 1995; Lee, M-S., 1998), and those who are using particular childcare arrangements (e.g. Hwang, B-R., 1998). To sum up the findings from those studies, childcare arrangements among working mothers in Korea appears to diverge depending on family background including the mother's occupation and the age of the children. For instance, middle-class mothers are more likely to use individual types of care, while low-income working mothers are more likely to arrange collective childcare. This is particularly true for children under the age of 3.

This phenomenon is quite surprising since individual unpaid or paid childcare is less likely to be linked with the quality care according to the Western experience. It is likely to be arranged among low-income families who do not have other alternatives they can negotiate. For instance, an American study on how childcare demands are negotiated in relation to employment (Henly and Lyons, 2000) shows that low-income mothers seek informal childcare arrangements as these are most compatible with convenience and cost considerations although not with quality. In the Korean context, however, it appears that informal types of childcare are not necessarily considered as inferior to institutional care. Rather mothers conceptualise that they use childcare centre because there is no one who can take care of their children. As more childcare options have become available nowadays, individual childcare arrangement provided by family members, relatives or neighbours, have been reduced subsequently. Nevertheless mothers still show their preference for the informal type of care at least until their children reach a certain age (Lee, M-J., 2000).

Employment behaviour

Another aspect of mothers' strategies to combine work and motherhood is to reduce their employment commitment at certain points in their lives, in order to liberate time

for taking care of their children. For instance, to leave the labour market for a time or to reduce the hours of work can be an option for mothers with young children. Studies on the maternal employment pattern have largely focused on the hours of work that mothers rearrange in order to perform their motherhood. Especially in comparative studies, discontinuities of maternal employment and reducing working hours among mothers with young children are often interpreted as the indicator that reflects lack of cultural and institutional support for working mothers. In addition, mothers with rearranged work schedules are frequently categorised as family-oriented (as opposed to work-oriented), as they are seen as less devoted to their work. As it is conventionally believed, if the changes in their employment can be a significant (and often only) indicator that shows someone's orientation or commitment, those mothers who do non-standard type of work such as homework or night shift work are also said to be not work-oriented. However, if we change the view from ideal workers to ideal mothers, these mothers are possibly categorised as work-oriented, because they precisely choose these strategies in order to be a worker as well as to be a mother. Garey (1995) in her earlier work on night-shift nurses in California, for instance, finds that the mothers deliberately chose the night shift instead of working in the daytime as it allowed them to see their children during the daytime as well as to work. We (1988) also finds that women in Korea who are working at home see it as their strategy to combine work and motherhood. Usually these types of work patterns are taken to indicate a limited work orientation, but these women could be equally committed to their work as full-timers are. The various types of employment arrangement must be seen as mothers' strategy to being a worker as well as a mother.

In addition to the 'reducing' work strategy, 'not increasing demands from work' must be counted as one of the strategies of mothers to combine work and motherhood. In her 'balance model', Glover (2002) suggests three types of employment mobility: from outside the labour market into paid work; from part-time to full-time paid work and from a lower to a higher position (via promotion). She argues that some women are not undertaking employment mobility because they want to preserve the balance between work and family life that they are currently maintaining. A case in Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson's (2001) study illuminates this point. A Swedish working mother, a 37 year old medical technician, was offered an opportunity to participate in a special working

group within the company. However as soon as she found that she had to attend evening meeting once per month, she decided not to accept the offer. This 'balance model' focuses on explaining why mothers do not increase their workload after obtaining a balance between work and family, while my study focuses on how mothers are achieving a balance when they face increased family need. Out of the three types of employment mobility in Glover's balancing model, nevertheless, refusing promotion at work could be of particular importance in my study as it indicates that even those who are in full-time employment without any employment changes are also engaging in a certain kind of negotiation in their everyday practice.

Ideological adjustment: earning and caring aspects of motherhood

In the studies which I have reviewed in the first section, personal beliefs and attitudes are regarded as a pre-given variable that affect mothers' decision-making with respect to earning and caring. However, my argument is that those beliefs about motherhood may also be regarded a part of the outcome, since personal attitudes and ideologies may keep transforming and developing, according to everyday experience (Glenn, 1994; Marks and Houston, 2002; Poenix and Willott, 1991). Himmelweit and Sigala (2004) add further insights on this through their recent work on the relationship between the identities and behaviour of working mothers. They claim that attitudinal factors ('identity' in their term) as well as behaviour are not fixed, but changeable as a result of adjustment to each other. Furthermore, mothers tend to change their attitude to one that justifies their current situation. For instance, employed mothers are more likely to accept the idea emphasising the harmlessness of maternal employment to their children than the stay-at-home-mothers. As Himmelweit and Sigala argued, not all mothers adopt this attitudinal adjustment. Instead of changing their attitudes, as we have seen, some may change their external circumstances including changes at work or childcare arrangement according to their beliefs. Along with mothers' growing integration into the labour market, however, it seems inevitable that there will be a development of new ideas about motherhood which differ from those conventionally believed, in order to reduce the conflict and tension between two competing roles, and hence it can be seen as one of the outcomes from the process of mother's reconciliation, albeit it might be a long-term result.

There is some evidence that the earning role is gradually being integrated into the motherhood and it does not necessarily compete with the idea of being a good mother. Especially where the financial necessity is the main impetus of the mothers' decision to work, their earning role would be easily construed as a part of being a good mother. In their recent study on Norwegian lone mothers, for instance, Duncan and Strell (2004) noted that some mothers see their paid work as a way of performing their motherhood. They work in order to buy a house or to send their children to a childcare centre, and these are all conceptualised as providing more for their children. In the Korean context, there is no empirical evidence about how mothers see their earning role with regard to their view on motherhood. However, as Kim, Y. (1997) has highlighted, mothers' income plays an essential role in maintaining their home economy and this illuminates that the earning role might be integrated easily into their role as mothers.

Working mothers without financial necessity are often said to have more conflict between work and motherhood due to the lack of justification for their employment in terms of their children's need (Cho, E.-S., 1999). However, recent studies in the Western context suggest that other views on good mothers which are not based on financial benefit are observed. For example, there are mothers who perceive their own well-being as a prerequisite for the child's well-being (Elvin-Nowak and Thomsson, 2001). If a mother feels satisfied and happy, according to this view, she will convey her feelings to the child, so that she can be a good mother. This frame work for understanding the earning role of motherhood is closely related to working mothers' emphasis on 'quality time' (as opposed to quantity time) and also the image of the 'independent mother' in stressing the importance of her own self-development, fulfilment and actualisation through her job (Lupton and Schmied, 2002).

While many studies have focused on how mothers perceive their earning role with regard to their motherhood, how they see their 'caring role' is largely missing in contemporary literature. This lack of attention to the caring aspect of motherhood is partly because working mothers, especially full-time working mothers, are often seen as not involved mothers since it is believed that taking time for work largely excludes mothers from the caring role. Indeed, if women are in paid work especially with long

hours and high pay, the majority of caring activities might be inevitability contracted out, either buying in labour or by using publicly-provided or family-provided childcare provision (Cho, E.-S., 1999). However, arranging an alternative childcare provider does not automatically exclude mothers from the caring role, since the caring aspect of motherhood includes many different sorts of caring activities such as recruiting carers, monitoring the quality of childcare service, making financial arrangement and so on. According to Glover (2002: 256), those activities can be defined as 'indirect care', which is 'managed by the carer but not necessarily done by her'. In fact, studies have shown that even full-time employed mothers are actively involved in childcare in various (but indirect) ways and they still play the main role in regard to fulfilling children's caring needs (Windebank, 1999).

In this regard, how mothers themselves define the caring role as the other part of their motherhood is equally important as their view on their earning role. To what extent do they think mothers have to be involved in the caring role and how far can the caring role be performed by alternative childcare? Uttal's study might be worth a mention at this point.

Focusing on mothers' different perceptions on childcare, Uttal (1996: 291) analyses 'the meanings employed mothers give to having others take care of their children': what kind of perception and expectation those working mothers have about alternative childcare, how they feel about having another person for their children and how they play their role as a mother with their care provider. Regardless of their employment pattern, she found three different approaches and attitudes about the care provider and their role as carer. Firstly, there are mothers who strongly believe that children have to be cared for by their own blood-mother since they believe others cannot give what a mother gives. Therefore they see the alternative care provider as the person who only can provide custodial care, which is based on the child's physical needs. Secondly, some others perceive the care provider as a substitute for the mother, who can make a strong emotional bond as well as be a provider of physical care. In this case, some mothers feel they have lost their identity as mother of their children. However, the vast majority of mothers in her study, which she accounts as the third group, do not feel this way. Rather, they have shown a more progressive way of constructing their

motherhood by perceiving themselves and their childcare provider as a 'childrearing team' but with different roles. Sharing values on childrearing in order to match them to caring practice is the most important job of the team. Childcare providers in this team are the practitioners who deliver the shared values. Mothers are not involved in care directly, but they are actively involved in mothering in an indirect way. Whether mothers can find a person who has common values about their view on childrearing and willing to practice according to the shared values remains to be questioned. However Uttal's study clearly shows that mothers are also reformulating the actual contents of their caring aspects of motherhood and this can be seen as one part of a strategy that mothers adopt (or do not adopt) in order to maintain motherhood and work together.

By providing for their children financially, by serving as role models of accomplishment and self-sufficiency and by being a happy mother, employed women with children can be as good as stay-at-home mothers. In this way the earning role can be conceived as an aspect of being a mother and it does not conflict with motherhood. They still can be a good mother by providing more in financial terms, but also providing a life model. Even though working mothers with young children are developing a more inclusive definition of motherhood by integrating an earning role into their motherhood, it does not replace the other part of motherhood, i.e. caring. Therefore how mothers define the caring aspects of motherhood is equally important as part of their strategy to combine work and motherhood.

2.3 Broader context

We have focused on individual mothers as the very core of social practice in regard to their reconciliation strategy to combine work and motherhood. Now we are broadening our perspectives to structures that may restrict or improve the options that individual mothers can negotiate and hence result in different outcomes in their reconciliation between work and motherhood. These are welfare states and organisation of employment.

Welfare states and the social practice of motherhood

In social policy tradition, the diversities in mothers' strategies to combine work and care have been explained predominantly from the structural perspective. In particular, the state's role has been focused as of importance factor in social practice of motherhood in different countries (Lewis 1992; Orloff, 1993, 1996; Sainsbury, 1996). For instance, Lewis (1992) in her early study, postulates that modern welfare regimes have all subscribed to some degree to the predominant notion of the male breadwinner with a dependent non-paid wife and dependent children, and she examine a number of European welfare states, questioning how far away from the ideal of a male-breadwinner model different countries have moved. Employing several indicators such as the treatment of women in social security systems, married women's position in the labour market, and the level of social provision, especially child care provision, Lewis derives a threefold categorisation of several welfare states; strong (e.g. Ireland and UK), moderate (e.g. France) and weak (e.g. Sweden) male breadwinner models.

Studies concerned with family policies have also documented dramatic cross-national variation in existing policies that support maternal employment such as publicly funded childcare and family leave benefit (Gustafsson and Stafford 1995; Gauthier 1996; Gornick, Meyers and Ross, 1997; Boje and Almqvist, 2000; Saraceno, 2000). These studies note that the origins and goals of these policies are rooted in a diverse set of overlapping and frequently shifting concerns such as helping child development, providing income maintenance for families, and enabling women's employment. Subsequently, the responses and directions that welfare states take for working mothers are different according to when they are developed as well as where they occur.

Those variations have been of substantive interest because it is assumed that such policies have implications for the extent and continuity of women's employment, and hence directly affect mother's reconciliation strategy to combine work and motherhood. For instance, where the state and local governments actively support mothers in reconciling paid work and family responsibilities through both a flexible and generous leave policy with good availability of childcare services, the female economic activity rate is high even among mothers with young children and the

continuous pattern in which individuals are active in the labour market throughout their working lives is dominant. On the other hand, where states support a strong division of labour between men and women within the family, on the crucial role of the mother's presence and care in the childhood years, women's official economic activity rate is low and a left-peaked pattern becomes typical. However if the state simultaneously recognises the importance of women's paid work and provides generous childcare services (but not for under 3) with comparatively long maternity leave and generous income replacement, then the returner-pattern (M shape or two-peaked pattern) characterised by a decline in participation in the age group of women who are in the childrearing period is the most likely outcome (Boje and Almqvist, 2000; Saraceno, 2000).

The consequences of the welfare state's approach and direction for working mothers are also examined by looking at the popular type of childcare arrangements made by working mothers. In her comparative study between Sweden, France and UK, for instance, Windbank (1996) highlights the dissimilarities in the ways of organising childcare with regard to different social policy. In Sweden where generous parental leave schemes and flexibility at work with high coverage rate of public day care facilities and childminders are offered, there is little usage of unpaid or paid informal arrangements. Instead, the most popular arrangement for pre-school children are either collective childcare facilities including childcare centres and childminders or using parental leave for taking care of their children. French and British mothers, on the other hand, more often call on informal paid or unpaid arrangements either on a regular or occasional basis. In France, however, more pre-school children are covered by public childcare centres than in the UK, whilst British mothers much more tend to manage care within the couple or turn to family and friends.

In the case of Korea, government policy towards the family issue has been firmly based on the principle of individual rather than collective responsibility, and the desirability of care of dependants being within the family. As noted in chapter 1, the state has not changes its minimal intervention principle in childcare provision, even though there have been progressive policy reforms since 2000. One consequence of this tendency is that there is minimal provision of publicly funded childcare. Chapter

three provides detailed percentages and numbers about childcare provision in Korea, but in short, more than 90 per cent of childcare services are provided through the private market. There is not free nursery education for all children 0-6. Only those who are defined as 'in need' through a means-test, can get a free place or reduction in the cost in state-run or state-supported childcare centres in the voluntary sector. There are reception classes in some primary schools for children aged 6 - again, it is not free albeit cheap. Similar to the state-run childcare centres, however, their geographical distribution is very uneven, with large metropolitan cities being best served. With regard to childcare leave, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, women workers in Korea have been entitled to up to 90 days paid maternity leave since 2001. There is also a statutory entitlement for parents to take leave in order to care for their children. This parental leave gives one of the parents the right to a period of one year per child which can be taken until the child reaches the age of one.

The organisation of employment

With no doubt, the above institutional conditions at the national level are of substantial importance for individual mother's reconciliation strategy. However, structural and cultural characteristics of the employment organisation are also seen as significant constraints (or resources) for reconciling work and motherhood (Dulk and et. al., 1999). Glover (2002) has argued that occupational resources seem to be particularly significant in the ways work and motherhood are reconciled. This is because, even in a situation of high public provision for care leave, implementation of the policies takes place within organisations. As a consequence, the work place culture may block the use of public provision for childcare leave (Lewis, 1999). In addition, types of occupation or particular industries have their own structural and institutional aspects which may also make a difference in work-care arrangements. The 'career trajectory' approach of Crompton (2001), Crompton and Harris (1998, 1999) is one example which highlights the significance of occupational characteristics. The structure of a professional medical career enables an early decision to specialise in an area and it offers better opportunities for unpaid and paid work to articulate reasonably smoothly. Bank managers, on the other hand, have fewer opportunities for such an approach to life-course planning. These differences in the ways of reconciling work and care can

appear depending on the job characteristics, such as whether it is task-oriented or clock-oriented, or whether it is occupational or organisational (Glover, 2002), together with whether it is in the public or private sector (Lewis, 1999).

2.4 Conclusion: the framework for this study

Combining all the literature which I have reviewed in this chapter, we can make a preliminary conclusion that individual mother's reconciliation process and its outcome would be understood better if we see them as an interaction between external and internal constraints. As economist and comparative social policy studies have emphasised, the social practice of motherhood can be seen as the result of given structural constraints. However, those studies focused on personal values and ideologies have highlighted that the behaviour of individual women cannot be regarded as an immediate response towards those external constraints. Instead, internal factors can also be constraints for practicing their motherhood in conjunction with their employment. In examining Korean working mothers' reconciliation process and its outcome, subsequently, this study employs the integrated view which postulates that working mothers have both external and internal constraints on their decisions with regard to their work and motherhood. Working mothers in this study are regarded as social actors who can be actively involved in their reconciliation processes, with different values and attitudes as well as different resources.

Adopting this integrated view, another analytical question comes from the previous review on the family role in East Asian welfare states in chapter 1. That is, where the family would be situated in this internal and external framework. If I consider the extended family as a key element of mothers' support network, this would be one of the external factors. However, my focus is not only the *ways* of reconciling work and care among mothers in Korea, but also the *process* of reconciliation leading to the outcome. Furthermore considering the Duncan and Edwards' (1997, 1999) argument which emphasised the significance of social network in mothers' understanding about their motherhood, strong family solidarity could well be internal constraints in the sense that the values and attitudes of the family may influence strongly the attitudes and behaviour of the mothers. Along with setting the extended family network as one

of external resources which working mothers can mobilise for combining work and their motherhood, therefore, I will focus on the role of the extended family in the reconciliation process directly.

While internal constraints refer to individual mothers' ideologies and attitudes about motherhood, external constraints refer to resources available for them. Within a broad definition, the term "resource" may refer to not only individual level assets but also the economic, social and political structures that produce, maintain, and reproduce those resources (Garey and Hansen, 1998). As a single country study especially where the welfare state keeps the minimal involvement principle on family affair, however, resources are defined here as a narrow term, applying to the individual level. These may include number of components such as income, wealth, education, occupational field, job security and seniority, marital status and security, support from other family members and neighbourhood. For analysis, these individual resources are categorised broadly into three; financial, occupational and familial resources. *Financial resources* include all the resources which enable mothers to buy quality childcare and other domestic services. This category may include family income, wealth, education and occupation, which can reflect class background. *Occupational resources* refer to the resources which are available in the work place. As we have discussed already, organisation or employers will affect the degree of interaction between work and care regardless of what national policies provide. Therefore institutional and cultural aspects of certain types of job are included in this category. *Familial resources* indicate persons that are available for providing childcare from the extended family network. Although I have presented three different resources, I do not presume that one particular resource can be the determining factor in the paths the Korean working mothers in this study chose. Rather, these individual resources can form a set of a particular constellation of resources and my focus is given to the relationship between these external resources and internal attitudes/ideologies in helping or limiting mothers' reconciliation between their work and childcare responsibilities.

While I am focusing on both individual resources and ideologies in examining the Korean working mothers' reconciliation process, the cultural context is seen as a pre-given and common resource or constraint for the Korean working mother. As Pfau-

Effinger (1999, 2004) has argued, however, all the processes and outcomes of working mothers' reconciliation cannot be understood unless we consider the historical and cultural context. In the following chapter the Korean context where the reconciliation performs is examined.

Chapter 3

Understanding the Korean context: Culture, policy and working mothers

Before engaging in a qualitative approach on Korean mothers' strategy to combine work and motherhood, in this chapter we aim to understand the Korean context in which the social practice of motherhood is performed. According to Pfau-Effinger (1998, 1999, 2004), the social practice of women is heavily influenced by predominant norms and values about the 'correct' gender division of labour. In other words, without a cultural and historical understanding of gender relations in a given society, it might be difficult to explain why the social practice of motherhood varies from one country to another. Agreeing with her argument, this chapter firstly attempts to examine gender culture in Korean society. Gender culture is defined as 'those norms and values that refer to the desirable, normal form of gender relations and the division of labour between women and men' (Pfau-Effinger 1999: 61). As is well known, values and norms existing in Korean society are largely based on Confucianism, and the cultural foundation of gender relations thus can be traced from the Confucian ideals concerning women. In addition, the economic structure may also affect gender culture as it formulates the basic form of gender arrangement in a household, and it reflects dominant gender division of labour in their everyday life. As a consequence, gender culture in regard to motherhood here is understood as the product of Confucian ideals and also as the consequence of the major economic structure in different periods studied.

Apart from the Confucianism and economic structure, cultural norms on gender relations may also be traced by looking at welfare state policies, since policies are based on cultural assumptions concerning gender. Especially in its policy on childcare service, the state's view on gender relation is certainly embedded implicitly and explicitly (Lewis and Ostner, 1994). At the same time, cultural values also influence the state's role in their relationship with family and women in particular. In other

words, cultural assumptions underpin how the state defines its role with regard to the responsibility of caring. It often assumed that the welfare state is one of the significant factors which limit or facilitate mothers' ability to combine work and family. By focusing on childcare policy over several decades in Korea, therefore, the second section of this chapter will examine how the state's role has been defined and to what extent Korean government facilitates working mothers to balance work and family. This chapter will also show to what degree the state's policy has been accordant with those changes, especially in comparison with the major structural changes in economy as well as with the behavioural and attitudinal changes in relation to female employment in Korea.

Under the notions of gender culture and the role of the state concerning motherhood, it will then move to the final section where I discuss the Korean path towards the modernisation of motherhood as it is found in current Korean society. In order to seek the answers of the question in respect of how Korean motherhood is transforming, this chapter mainly focuses on the characteristics of married women's paid work based on secondary data. However, it will be further complemented by in-depth materials in the following chapters.

3.1 Gender culture and motherhood

Gender culture in a Korean context is examined in this section, by focusing on the Confucian ideals on the relation between women and men. Traditionally, there has been a clear distinction between women and men in their roles, and women have been designated to the private domestic sphere. However, this view was not always accordant with the major form of gender arrangement. Thus the current gender culture in Korean society is understood as the outcome of the interaction between how motherhood has been viewed and how it has been practiced in everyday life.

According to the major shift in Korean economic structure, this section is divided into three periods; firstly, during the pre-industrialisation period up until the early 1960s, Korea was predominantly an agrarian society in which women tended to be seen as an

important labour force for the survival of family economy. During the industrialisation period between the 1960s and 1970s, married women lost their traditional productive role in agriculture as a consequence of urbanisation and industrialisation, while young female workers were largely absorbed into the modern industrial sector. Thus the family economic model as the dominant form of gender arrangement had been transformed into the male breadwinner and female housewife model (Yun, T-L., 2001). Since the 1980s, however, the reversal of the housewife model can be seen, as a growing number of married women have become engaged in paid work outside the home.

Traditional motherhood in Confucianist agrarian society

According to *Yecgi,* a book of Confucian precept, women and men were believed to have differences in their own values as well as in their behaviours. For instance, women should be tender and obedient, while men should be strong. Women with tenderness and obedience were encouraged to yield to men throughout their life. As is well known, women in Confucianism are subject to three authorities: their father when they are young, their husband when they are married, and their sons when they are widowed (Choi, J-S. and Lee, D-W, 1986). The women's obligation of obedience means that women's existence was only identified by a relational position with a man, especially as an inferior subject to men. The patriarch as a husband and as a father exerted supreme authority over women and other family members. As a consequence of this culturally defined difference, subordination of women to men, or more precisely, segregation, became the basic rule which applied for the relation between women and men in general and between wives and husbands in particular.

First of all, they were segregated in their place of being, and this was apparent in many aspects of their everyday life. For instance, traditional Korean houses usually consist of a male section called '*Sarang-chae'* and female section called '*An-chae'* (inner place). While S*arang-chae* is located closely to the main gate of the house and can easily open to the public, *An-chae* is a private sphere of living and women were supposed to spend most of their time in the female section *(An-chae),* isolated from the outside world. This different place assigned to women and to men implied a strict distinction of the

gender differentiated role, which I account as another important segregation between women and men. For instance, women were associated with the daily domestic work as mothers and wives in the living area (i.e. private sphere), while men were associated with the public sphere to meet guests and also the representation of their household to the kin and in community affairs (Kim, K-A., 1994). Furthermore, this division of place and role between women and men is also reflected in the term of wife and husband in Korean language. Wife is *'An-Saram'* corresponding to 'the person of inside the home', while husband is *'Barkgot-Saram'* corresponding to 'the master of outside the home' respectively. Although spatial division might not be so apparent in the house of poor peasants, men's authority over women, and the differentiated role for women and for men who are assigned to different sphere of activities were embedded in everyday life across all classes (Kim, K-A., 1994).

Under this strict rule of 'difference/segregation' between women and men in Confucian society, married women were further confined to their duties of giving birth to sons (not daughters) to perpetuate their husband's family (*'Ga'*). In Confucian culture, there were two essential duties of patriarchs as a practical form of 'filial piety'. First, they had to continue their paternal line of the family and second they had to perform ancestral rites, which are related to the Confucian belief in the afterlife. It is only the males who can perform Confucian rites for their ancestry - though preparing food for the performance of the rites is the job of women- and only paternal family name can be succeeded. If someone has no son, there is no one who can perform the rites for them after their death, and the family name will end once their daughters get married. As a consequence, women were primarily seen as the instrument of childbirth in Confucian society and hence giving birth to a son(s) was (and often still is) the first and foremost obligation of married women (Shin, K-A., 1999). Only by performing this duty could a woman have status in her husband's family, and being a mother (of sons) was the vital part of her identity in traditional Confucian society of Korea (Cho, S-S., 2002).

While becoming a mother was the main source of gaining power as well as status in their husband's family and society for women, practicing motherhood such as caring for and educating children did not seem to be a particularly significant task for married

women in traditional Confucianist agrarian society of Korea. This is because there were various roles that married women were expected to perform. On the one hand, they had to look after family members by performing various reproduction works at home. This is still the same for most women in contemporary Korean society, although the boundary of the family which women were responsible for taking care of was much larger than at present (Kum, J-T., 1994). On the other hand, women were also expected to contribute to the family economy through various productive works at home such as sewing, spinning, weaving, milling, raising domestic-animals, and cultivating vegetables (Cho H-J., 1986). Furthermore, as women were regarded as an important source of labour in a small family business in an agrarian society, the common people and poor peasant women also had to go out for work in the fields. Taking care of children was the kind of task that all family members could share and be involved in. In particular, it was common for boys to be looked after by and stay with their father or grandfather in the *Sarangchae*, the male section of a Korean traditional house, as soon as they became seven years old (Cho, S-S., 2002). This indicates that mothers were not expected to be in charge of all aspects of their children's need. Even though it was still the mothers who did the main caring work for their children, as they did for the other family members, it was not such intensive labour since it could be shared with other family members in a household. In this sense, it can be argued that the surrogated type of mothering within the family boundary was the dominant form of childcare during pre-industrialisation period.

Motherhood in the traditional agrarian society of Korea was not regarded as a particularly significant phase of life in which special tasks of caring absorb a substantial proportion of women's capacity for work. Although having a child (son) is the primary responsibility for married women in Confucian society, the caring of children itself was only one of various roles that married women were expected to perform and which could be shared with the other family members. Despite the fact that women had contributed to the family economy through various productive as well as reproductive works, women were designated to a private sphere and defined as a subordinate creature in Confucian ideals. Hence their contributions to the family economy were likely to be devalued and there was significant discordance between the practice and the ideals of women's roles.

Motherhood in industrialisation period

As the economic system shifted from agriculture to modern industry since the 1960s in Korea,[1] a new gender arrangement in the household had emerged, i.e. the 'male breadwinner and female caregiver model'. Although women in rural areas still engaged in agriculture as productive workers, more married women became separated from the world of work (productive work) and were placed in the isolated world of the domestic private sphere. Subsequently, in this new economic structure, difference and segregations in place and role between wife and husband, which hereto were supported by Confucian ideals (but not in practical level), became further reinforced through everyday practice.

Along with the emergence of this new gender arrangement in households, resulting from economic shift, the form of mothering was also transformed rapidly. 'Surrogated mothering' within the family boundary in a household during the traditional agrarian society was replaced by 'individual mothering' in a male breadwinner and female full-time caregiver household. Furthermore motherhood became a more significant phase and task in women's lives than ever before, in spite of declining fertility rates (Yun, T-L., 2001). While motherhood was largely immersed in the various reproductive and productive works that women had been expected to perform previously, the separation of productive work from home as a result of industrialisation and urbanisation placed motherhood in the centre of womanhood. Especially the ideology of 'wise-mothers and good-wives' (*Hyunmo Yangchur*) had inspired many women to devote themselves to the care-giving role. During the first two decades of industrialisation, in the 1960s and 1970s in particular, political and social discussion was primarily focused on economic development and it emphasised the duty of the citizens for restoration of the nation, based on the gender relations in the male breadwinner and female caregiver household (Gee, E-H., 1985; Hwang, J-M., 1999, Yun, T-L, 2001). Men were expected to contribute to the good of the nation by being a diligent worker, while women were expected to contribute as 'wise mothers and good wives' in the private world of the home. The 'good wives' carefully managed the affairs of the household and advanced

[1] Despite the early industrialisation started during the colonial period, Korea was predominantly an agrarian society with more than 70 per cent of agricultural population up to the early 1960s.

the well-being of its adult members, while the 'wise mothers' devoted themselves to the mothering role in order to raise their children to be good labourers with ability and productivity. As family caregivers, women were expected to contribute to the nation as well as the capital by serving their husbands (the labour) and their children (the future labour)[2].

The 'wise mother' role has been much more emphasised in the modern Korean context, as children's success is regarded as the way of upgrading the social class of the family and also is equated with insurance for their later life (Yun, T-L., 2001). Traditionally Korean society highly valued the achievement of a high position in government through passing a national examination. Helping children to learn and to prepare for the examination was regarded as an important role of parents especially among the aristocratic class (*Yang Ban*), while children of commoners were mainly seen as labourers who were expected to contribute to the family agricultural work as early as they became physically able. With the total demolition of the traditional class system, however, the importance of educating children to achieve academic success was even more emphasised across all classes, since it was regarded as the most powerful and significant method of upward mobility in the modern industrial society of Korea (Cho, S-S., 2002). Furthermore, the weak social safety net in the Korean welfare state increased financial insecurity of the individual family, and hence produced great pressure on families to invest in their children as the way of insuring their later life (Shin, K-A., 2001). In other words, the importance of children's success is recognised in terms of family welfare (not only the child's individual welfare). Subsequently, investment in children i.e. helping them to achieve academic success and hence to get high position in the occupational hierarchy became the most vital 'family project' or

[2] This 'wise mothers and good wives' ideology was introduced during the early years of 20th century through women's enlightenment movement and later by national leaders of patriotism, emphasising the importance of educating women (mothers) in Korea (Moon, S-J., 1999). However, the influence did not go beyond the boundary of upper ranks of society up until the second half of 20th century, as it did not match the life experience of many women who had to survive with their children as a solo breadwinner. From the colonial period (1910-45) to the post-Korean war (1950-53), many women had to maintain their family as a solo breadwinner. Their husband was often absent as they were away from the family as a drafted worker or a solder. In addition it was not rare for men to leave their home to participate in the national independent movement or in the mining business during the most turbulent and transitional times in Korean history (Cho S-S., 2002). Furthermore women who lost their husband during the wartime had to survive from the poverty with their children (mostly more than 6 children on average). As a consequence, the image of 'strong and self-sacrificing motherhood' has characterised during this period in a sense that a mother had to be strong enough to maintain their family without a male breadwinner and devoted

'family business', as Cho, S-S. (2002:173) has named it, in the industrialisation period.

Caring for and educating children were not only the mother's responsibility in traditional Korean society. Especially, the responsibility of helping children to achieve academic success (i.e. passing the national exam) was seen as the fathers' than the mothers', as women rarely received education. However, the shift of the economic system excluded fathers from family affairs to a great extent, while it defines a mother as the person who is in charge of children's welfare in every aspect such as physical, emotional and social. In addition, the significance of children's success in terms of family welfare resulted in even heavier burden on mothers. That is, mothers are also expected to be specialised in providing and managing a good quality educational environment for their children. Motherhood and practicing motherhood therefore became the focal point of womanhood in contemporary Korean society (Yun, T-L. 2001).

Although the significance of motherhood in a woman's life has been changed according to the major economic structure and the dominant form of gender arrangement, it seems that motherhood has been primarily seen as an instrument throughout Korean history. Firstly, motherhood was seen as the instrument of giving birth to a son(s) in order to perpetuate patriarchs' family name. Secondly, motherhood was seen as the instrument of serving the good of the nation as well as the capital by being good wives and wise mothers. In addition, motherhood is seen as the instrument of helping children's success for the family's sake. Motherhood has never been viewed at social and political levels from the perspective of women themselves. Rather it has been either for nation/capital or for patriarch/family.

Competing ideologies on motherhood

While the dominant ideology still emphasises motherhood as the most significant phase of a woman's life, we recently witness possible changes of gender relation in Korean society, as more married women have been integrated into the labour market of

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themselves to support their children without pursuing her own interests (Shin, K-A., 1999).

modern industry. As we have seen already, work is not a new role for most Korean women, who lost the traditional productive roles in agriculture as a result of industrialization and urbanization. However, modern industrial work, particularly working outside the home is different in its quality in the sense that women come out from the inner place (private sphere) where they are supposed to stay. Since the mid seventies, Korean economic policy has been redirected from labour-intensive, light industry to heavy and chemical industry in which male workers have been largely absorbed. At the same time, young female labour rapidly transferred to new jobs in the clerical, sales and service sectors. This industrial and sectoral shift of Korean economy with the reduction in numbers of young people in the population, as well as longer educational periods, has resulted in reduction in labour supply. Particularly in the manufacturing sector such as textiles, clothing, wooden craft and metal industries, the labour shortage has been pre-eminent regardless of the state of the economy (Cho, U., 1990; Chung, H-S., 1989a; Gang Y-S. and Shin, K-A., 2000). Given this economic circumstance, married women who are seen as a 'reserve army' of labour finally gained wider access to the labour market of modern industry. As it shows in table 3.1, married women contributed substantially to the growth of the female labour force participation especially between 1980 and 1990. By 2000, married women in the labour force have overtaken the average rate of female labour force participation.

Table 3.1 Female labour force participation rates by marital status, *1970-2000*

In per cent

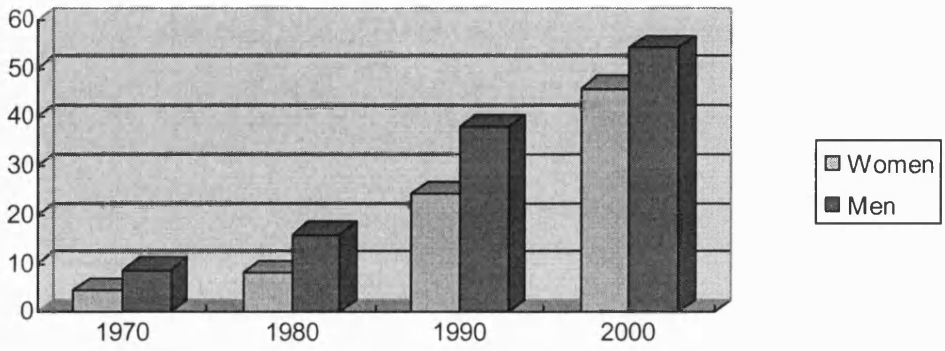
	1970	1980	1990	2000
Married	36.9	35.6	46.8	48.7
Single	44.3	49.1	45.6	47.0
Total	39.3	42.8	47.0	48.6

Source: KWDI (1991) *Statistical Yearbook on Women* refers to 1970 and 1980; KLI (2002), *2002 KLI Labour Statistics* refers to1990 and 2000.

The early integration of married women into the labour market was mainly among less educated and low skilled working-class mothers. However, the female integration into the labour market has broadened to women across various educational backgrounds since the late 1980s (Kim T-H., 2000). As shown in figure 3.1, the proportion of women with higher education has been increased rapidly since the 1980s. This upward trend in education for women might not necessarily be linked with their labour market participation, since education for women has conventionally been believed as

investment for the marriage market rather than the labour market. However it seems clear that more educated women especially in the younger generation seek to build their own career though paid work rather than to be successful in the marriage market.

Figure 3.1 Enrolment ratio of higher education by sex, *1970-2000*



Source: Korean Educational Development Institute (1990), *Educational Indicators of Korea*, refers to 1970-1990; KWDI (2004), *Statistical Yearbook on Women*, refers to 2000.

According to the Ministry of Labour (2000), for instance, 99 per cent of female university students wanted to have a job after graduation, and 70 per cent of them wanted to have a life-long career. Furthermore, increasing demands for paid work among young mothers is also evident in Shin's study on Korean mothers in their 20s or 30s. Interviewing 38 Korean mothers with work or without work, Shin, K-A. (1999) found several major trends in the mother's view on their motherhood during the 1990s. Firstly mothers have asked questions about biologically defined motherhood since they realised their maternal instinct was not inherent in their nature. Mothers in her study mentioned that they did not know how to take care of their children unless they had learned it. Secondly the self-identity of mothers has gradually separated from their relationship with children and from their motherhood. They began to seek the 'real me' instead of identifying themselves as someone's wife or someone's mother. As a consequence, thirdly, a strong desire among Korean mothers towards their own career has been emerging.

The attitude not only of women, but of people in general has also shown a sharp movement away from traditional view on gender differentiated role. According to table

3.2, which shows the result of national survey on people's attitudes toward female employment in different years, respondents (aged 15 and over) who strongly disagreed with female employment (advocating 'non working at all'), has fallen from 21 per cent of total respondents in 1991 to 8 per cent in 2002. In the meantime, those who strongly agreed with female employment (advocating 'working under any circumstances') increased significantly from 14 per cent to 35 per cent during the same period. Together with the increased participation rate and demands for paid work among women, this survey result indicates a growing belief in the appropriateness of female employment.

Table 3.2 Attitudes toward female employment, *1991-2002*

In per cent

Agreeing with the statement	1991	1995	2002 (female/male)
1 non-working at all	21.1	15.8	8.1 (6.0 /10.3)
2 working before marrying only	20.2	13.2	12.0 (9.9/ 14.2)
3 working after child-rearing	22.4	16.1	13.8 (13.4/14.3)
4 working except child-rearing period	22.5	34.1	25.4 (26.2/24.6)
5 working under any circumstances	13.7	20.9	35.4 (40.2/30.2)

Source: KNSO (each year) *Social Indicators of Korea.*

Despite the burgeoning evidence towards progressive gender relations in contemporary Korea, there are significant obstacles in the ways, slowing down this erosion of the dominant ideology of motherhood. Although the overall result of the survey approved that female employment is accepted more widely than ever before, maternal employment is not fully supported. For instance, if we merge the third and the fourth categories in table 3.2, as both of them support the caring role for children over employment, it turns out that more than one third of respondents, which is the largest proportion of whole respondents, still perceive that employment is incompatible with active motherhood, i.e. when their children are young. Furthermore, the change in men's attitudes is much less dramatic than women's, though both take the same direction in principle. In other words, men are more likely to support the caring role of motherhood i.e. 'stay-at-home mother' than women are. This result has a significant influence on women's actual employment behaviour, since the husband's attitude is more crucial to married women's employment than that of their own (Lee, M-J., 2002; Kim, K-A., 1999). In addition, this survey result indicates that competing ideologies on

motherhood exist in current Korean society and this co-existence may place limitations on women realising their ideals.

In this section, we have investigated how motherhood has been viewed and practiced over several decades. In the traditional agrarian society of Korea, the 'family economic model', in which women and men equally contribute to the family economy, was the dominant form of gender arrangement. In this 'family economic model', motherhood was largely immersed into various productive and reproductive works. As the major economic structure moved from agriculture to modern industry since the 1960s, the male breadwinner and female housewife model became the dominant forms of gender arrangement in a household in urban areas. Based on gender differentiated roles in both practical and ideological dimensions, women were compelled to perform caring roles for the family staying at home. Motherhood, as a consequence, became the central part of womanhood. Since the 1980s, however, it seems that Korean motherhood entered a third phase. Along with the increased number of married women who became engaged in paid work, there has been a progressive movement toward less conservative gender relations, although it also demonstrates that the traditional view of women's role and motherhood remained strong.

3.2 Childcare policy

So far we have traced the major changes in gender culture and motherhood throughout the history of Korea, focusing on Confucian ideals and economic structural changes. In this section we examine the state's response towards those changes in gender culture and motherhood by focusing on the development of childcare policy in Korea. While people's attitudes as well as behaviours have been changing, how the Korean welfare state has responded, how the role of the state has been defined and changed in childcare services, and what the assumption is about gender and motherhood embedded in childcare policy are the main questions addressed in this section. We have discussed in chapter 2 that welfare states is regarded as one of the important factors which may limit or facilitate mothers' ability to balance work and family. This

will lead us to understand how far state's policy has helped mothers to combine work and care.

In Korean childcare policy during the last several decades, three motives have been observed. It was firstly constructed to support children who were in vulnerable situations. Secondly childcare was seen as part of an educational programme for improving the socialisation, life quality and welfare of all children. Thirdly, childcare was recognised as a method for bridging the needs of mothers in combining childrearing with paid employment. All these motives may have been present in the childcare institutions, but often one motive would predominate. In the case of Korea, the main motive of childcare policy has been moved from one to another, depending on the political and economical situation. This section is divided according to this orientation-shift in childcare policy.

Welfare service for the poor: 1960s and 1970s

The first initiative of the state in relation to collective childcare dates back to 1961, when Korea came to have a legal framework for social welfare through legislating several laws including the Child Welfare Act. Like other social care services, however, the government had not been involved in childcare services either in terms of its provision or its funding. In contrast to its heavy-handed intervention for economic policy, the Korean government made clear the states' residual and minimal role in social security and welfare programmes through its emphasis on the citizen's self-help spirit[3]. Subsequently, most welfare-related-laws were no more than administrative orders and regulations. Only those of instrumental value were put into effect[4].

Since the late 1960s, however, the extension of wage labour and the drift of populations to cities were accompanied by increasing number of deserted children and

[3] 'The state shall not discourage citizens' self-help spirit in performing social security and welfare work' (Article 3:1); 'According to the national economic situation, social security and welfare programmes will be carried out step by step.' (Article 3:2).

[4] These included public assistance programmes (1961), pension schemes for military personnel (1962) and civil servants (1963). Particularly in order to secure their continuous loyalty to the new regime, which had a great shortage of legitimacy, civil servants and military personnel were the first two occupational groups to receive public pension in Korea. The pension was not only a means to protect the lives of retirees, but also a means to upgrade their status *vis-a-vis* other occupational groups (Lee, H-K., 1999).

juvenile vagrants in urban area. Facing this disastrous consequence of industrialization and the increasing number of children in residential care institutions, the government felt its financial limitation for running those institutions, and hence turned towards de-institutionalisation in regard to child welfare. Emphasising the superiority of care in the family, for instance, the government reinforced child adoption programmes and introduced foster family programmes (Song, J-M., 1998). Furthermore the government showed ther concern on childcare (day care facilities) as a strategy to prevent deserted children and juvenile vagrants so that the number of children in residential care institutions could be reduced both in the short and long term. Launching the first five-year plan for childcare centres in 1967, the government began to provide financial support for the running costs of childcare centres for the first time ever[5]. The government pronounced 'temporary dealing principles for unlicensed childcare centres' in 1968, which loosened the regulations for the establishment of childcare centres and so was expected to bring about the growth of childcare centres in the private sector. In addition, to remove any negative image of the childcare institutions - often it was regarded as a characteristic of Communism - childcare centres, which had been called *'Takaso'*, were renamed as *Arineejip,* meaning 'children's house'. This new name for the childcare centres emphasises that childcare centres are like children's homes, where they could play and learn rather than be inspected and imprisoned. Due to this government's efforts, the total number of childcare centres reached more than 600 by the end of the 1970s and the participation of the non-profit private sector into childcare service has increased significantly during the 1960s and 70s (Park, J-S., 1998).

In comparison with the other welfare services, the state was relatively active in increasing childcare centres, and yet the political issue around the childcare policy was neither the children's right to be cared for nor the needs of working mothers. Rather, de-institutionalisation aimed at reducing public expenditure on welfare service for children was the main impetus of the government's involvement in childcare services. Although the state began to subsidise childcare centres, the state's subsidies covered only 22 per cent of the total running costs of childcare centres in 1968. The biggest

[5] The state provided financial support to 40 day care centres out of over 100 in 1967. In 1969, 80 day care centres out of 385 received state's funding for facility expenses. In 1975, states' subsidies went to the cost

proportion (53%) of finance came from Foreign Aid and the rest was covered by donations or the organisation's own earnings (Chang, I-H., 1971). When major Foreign Aid was withdrawn from Korea in 1976, as a consequence most childcare centres languished.

Educational service for all children: 1980s

The comprehensive reforms concerning early childhood education and care launched in the early 1980s. Emphasising the importance of the early years of education for children, the state's approach towards childcare service was changed from selectivity to universality through the legislation of the Early Childhood Education Promotion Act in 1982. Receiving care and education service thus came to be seen as a right of all pre-school children rather than a relief for the poor only.

The ambition of lawmakers was to make early childhood education, which hereto had been the preserve of those who could afford to pay fees, available for all children and also to help low-income working mothers. After the enforcement of the new law, all forms of childcare centres including seasonal childcare centres in rural areas, and non-profit private childcare centres were integrated as one system under the responsibility of the Home Office and this was given one single term, *Saemaul Yuawon* (new village childcare centre). At the same time, the articles mentioning childcare service were taken out of the Child Welfare Act, and the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs broke its relationship with the national service for early childhood education and care. But the Ministry of Education continued to take charge of kindergartens, and so the childcare policy during the 1980s had a dual system consisting of kindergartens under the Ministry of Education, and the *Saemaul Yuawon* of the Home Office.

Although this reform brought about a growth in the quantity of childcare centres, the reform resulted in a rather negative effect on younger children of low income working mother families. Due to its exclusive emphasis on education rather than care, children aged 0-3 who were too young to be educated, were often excluded from the service.

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of nutrition for 35,000 children out of 40,655 in day care facilities (Park, J-S., 1998).

According to statistics, only 76 centres out of 2,394 provided care service for children 0-3 in 1988 (Han H-K. *et al.* 1996). In addition, the majority of childcare centres were open until 4:00 p.m. and closed during summer and winter vacations. This indicates that childcare centres became a cheap alternative institution to the kindergarten, without proper caring functions for children from working mothers' family.

It is ironic that more mothers joined the labour market just when the national childcare service for young children was almost disappearing. As we have seen in the previous section, there was considerable growth in the labour force participation rate of married women during the 1980s. However, the government did not view the provision of childcare facilities as an essential component of state's support for families. Instead it only acknowledged the educational value of early learning and socialising experience, and hence the childcare policy was mainly focused on education rather than care. Subsequently the gap between demand and supply of the caring service for children became enlarged so that to leave children at home while the parents were going out for work was inevitable for many working-class mothers who had to work outside the home.

It was non-profit childcare centres, namely 'Community Daycare Centres', established voluntarily by individuals and social organisations, that contributed to reduce the gap between national provision and the needs for childcare of working mothers (Na, K-S. and Lee, J-H., 1992). It was as early as 1975 when the Community Daycare Centres began to emerge[6] and the number increased to more than two hundreds centres by 1989. The majority of those centres were established mainly in low-income urban areas during the second half of the 1980s and this corresponded with the period when married women's employment had risen significantly. Most of them covered young children from the age two and opened for 10-14 hours. Furthermore, some of them provided night care and even 24 hours service. Comparing previous non-profit private centres during the 1960s and 1970s, the 1980s' Community Daycare Centres were characterised as a social movement rather than just a charity work. As a part of labour and women's movement, the Community Daycare Centres were recognised as a base

[6] Pre-existed non-profit childcare centres were already integrated in to the *SaemaulYuawon* in 1982.

camp for reforming local communities by providing education for parents as well as for children (Chung, H-S., 1989b).

With the rapid growth in women's economic activity, however, the Community Daycare Centres were not able to cover the childcare needs of working mothers. There was an evolving debate on this problem and the consensus among social actors was that childcare service should be socialised. Facing this increased pressure, the government had to do at least something. Central government introduced workplace childcare through the promulgation of the Gender Equal Opportunity Act in December 1987. Following this law, the Ministry of Labour established two experimental workplace childcare centres in an industrial complex area and also encouraged employers to provide childcare facilities for their female employees (Park, Y-S., 1989). The government also set up a training course for childminders in 1985, and by 1989, 439 out of 2800 trained childminders ran their own Home Care (KWDI, 1989). While encouraging employers and individuals to participate into childcare provision, a revision of the Child Welfare Act was being processed within the central government, in order to re-install childcare services which were removed when the Early Childhood Education Promotion Act was legislated. Although the Community Daycare Centres Association and other social organisations, such as the Catholic Farmers Association and the Women Workers Association, insisted on the independent law only for childcare services in order to secure the finance from the government (Na, K-S. and Lee, J-H., 1992), it was not successful till 1991.

The rhetoric used by government officials against the legislation of independent law for childcare was the following. Firstly, 'since parents have the primary responsibility for childcare, the state provides a supplementary service only when parents cannot care due to some inevitable reasons'. Secondly, 'the more the collective childcare provides, the weaker the family function of care becomes. Therefore, the number of childcare centres should remain under a certain level' (Korean Women Workers Association, 1992: 259). Although the government recognised the shortage of childcare provision

and saw childcare policy as a necessary service for families with low-income working mothers, [7] its responsibility for providing childcare service was constantly denied.

During the 1980s, the state's attitude towards social care services was not much different from the previously, particularly in their basic premise that state's involvement should remain minimal. The government emphasised the superiority of informal, familial, community based mutual support groups and their cooperation with the state, particularly in the field of social care services (Lee, H-K. 1999). As a consequence, social care services were still understood as services for low-income family rather than for all citizens. The state extended its interventions with early childhood education based on universalism, but this resulted in a large ignorance of working mothers' need for childcare.

Service for balancing work and family: 1990s

In modern Korean history, the 1990s were the years of distributing the outcome of social-economic development achieved during the last three decades. Most social security programmes came into effect and various committees for welfare planning at the central governmental level were established with wide participation of private sector representatives, especially during the second half of the nineties. Social welfare became one of the mainstream policy issues for the first time in Korean history. As Lee, H-K. (1999: 33) expressed, 'the authoritarian instrumentalist approach vanished from the scene, and a genuine search began for a Korean welfare state model to enhance the quality of life for all in the era of globalisation'. According to the White Paper on Health and Social Affairs (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 1994), however, government stressed the role of the family, the partnership between the public and private sector, the development of human capital and the avoidance of dependency on the state. In other words, it wanted to encourage private sector initiatives to participate in the provision of social welfare services and to develop the social security system within the general principle of small government with productive priorities. Thus, the

[7] 'In order to educate and care children of *low-income working mothers* especially under the nuclearisation of the family in modern industrial society' (Ministry of Labour, 1988),

state's role as a provider of social welfare service seems systematically limited in the Korean welfare state model.

In the case of the childcare policy, the state's role remained at a minimal and residual level. Even though the independent law for childcare i.e. the Child Care Act was enacted in 1991 and hence public expenses for childcare service became secured, sharing care responsibility was not equally distributed between the state and parents. Firstly, it still kept the 'user pay' principle. That is, in most cases, parents or guardians had to pay full fees for the childcare service. Only in the case of children whose parents or guardians could not afford it, would the state share the cost. For example, the state provided full fees for children of Public Assistance beneficiaries - such as Livelihood Aid, Medical Aid - and those of mothers institutionalised in temporary care facilities. Children from lower-income (lower than 50 per cent of the average income of families in urban areas) families and from single parent families were eligible to receive part of the fees from the state (Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, 1993).[8] Otherwise, the whole cost must be born by parents or guardians. Thus the principle of sharing childcare responsibility between the state and parents was only applied to a few selected children.

Secondly, the responsibility of the state as a direct service provider was limited to the most deprived regions including low-income areas, agricultural and fishery areas. Even so, it was not compulsory. In other words, instead of '*should* or *has to*' it mentioned that 'the state *may* establish public childcare centres ....'. In other regions, the provision of childcare was entirely left to the initiatives of the private sector and the employer. The government encouraged the participation of the private sector through allowing individual and general cooperation bodies to establish childcare centres. Although the independent law was legislated at last, it did not seem to bring any significant changes in the state's approach towards childcare policies and hence its basic assumption about the family and women. The family had the primary

[8] In order to receive state's subsidies, the income of single parent family also has to be lower than average level. In this sense, the single parent family has no meaning as another category since it is already included in the former category, the lower-income family. But it shows that government acknowledges the situation of the single parent.

responsibility for caring for the children and the state intervened only when the family failed to care for them.

In 1996, the Child Care Act was amended, but still the government rejected the universalist approach for all children, arguing that it was not realistic in terms of government finance. Instead, regulations on private childcare centres was further reduced or abolished and this brought about a sharp increase in commercial private sectors during the late 1990s. In 1997, for instance, the state provided only 7.5 per cent of the total number of childcare centres, whilst the proportion for the for-profit private sector was 81 per cent and that for the non-profit private sector was 12 per cent. In the number of children who were cared for in each type of childcare centres, the biggest proportion, 58 per cent, was also the for-profit section, followed by 25 per cent for the non-profit private section and 17 per cent for the public (Park, J-S., 1998).

Of course, there are some positive results during the 1990s. Firstly, comparing the previous period, the general situation of childcare provision certainly improved at least in its quantity. As shown in table 3.3, the total number of childcare centres increased remarkably. Comparing to 1990, the number increased by 10 times by 2000. The big jump in the number of private childcare centres between 1990 and 1992 was mainly due to the registration of unlicensed childcare centres after the implementation of the Child Care Act. The increased number could well indicate the enhanced availability of the care service and also that of consumer's choice. Nevertheless, still only 1 in 4 children aged 0-6 can get a place in these collective childcare centres.[9] In addition, it does not necessarily guarantee the affordability of such services as most of the service is based on for-profit.

Secondly, the childcare policy began to be recognised from the perspective of women, i.e. working mothers. In the previous period, political debate on childcare policy was limited within the boundary of the poor in the 1960s and 70s and of children's education in the 1980s. However, in the 1990s childcare policy has been seen as a mean of balancing work and motherhood. For instance, the purpose of childcare policy

[9] In 2004, the total population of children aged 0-6 was 3,947,020, whilst the total number of places in collective childcare centres was only 1,066,728 (www.kosis.nso.go.kr).

was expressed as 'to help *balance* economic and social activities of parents' (1996 Amendment Child Care Act) and 'for sound bringing up of children and supporting socio-economic activities of dual earner families' (KWDI, 1996). These statements show that the government was well aware of the necessity and the social value of mothers' labour outside the home. The state began to accept the earner aspects of motherhood not only those of low-income families but also mothers from across classes. 'Recognising' the earner aspects of motherhood and 'supporting' the role of mothers is, however, a very different matter, even if the former could be a prelude for the latter. Although the necessity and the value of mothers' labour were recognised and mentioned explicitly by government officials, the state's intervention was yet limited to low-income families only. Childcare had not been recognised as the right to be cared or the right to work for all citizens yet.

Table 3.3 Number of childcare centres

In number of centres

	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2004
Public	360	720	983	1,079	1,258	1,295	1,344
Workplace	20	28	37	117	184	204	234
Private*							
Day care**	39	1,808	3,091	6,037	9,622	11,304	14,145
Home care	1,500	1,957	2,864	4,865	6,541	6,473	9,596
Total	1,919	4,513	6,975	12,098	17,605	19,276	25,319

Source: Ministry of Health and Welfare (each year), *Statistical Yearbook on Health and Welfare*, refers to 1990-2000, http://www.moge.go.kr, refers to 2004

Notes: * This category includes non-profit and for-profit sectors.
** Day care indicates centre-based childcare facilities.

Since childcare service includes some educational aspects, the state's intervention into collective childcare could more easily be extended than other social welfare services. As we have seen already, the universalist approach was adopted once during the 1980s and nursery education was the main discourse of childcare policy at that time. Furthermore, the proposal for free education of all children age 5 was passed during the Kim Dae-Jung government. Whenever education was highlighted, the universal approach was more likely to be adopted. But when care came first, it did not seem to bring the same result. As far as a caring need is concerned, in fact, the Korean government has secured its minimum involvement principle. Instead of state's direct intervention for childcare, the government led the expansion of non-profit childcare

centres until the 1980s and that of for-profit childcare in the 1990s. As is discussed in chapter 1, some progressive movement in government policy on childcare has been observed since the turn of the 21th century. Furthermore, as is shown in table 3.3, there was a further increase in childcare provision between 2000 and 2004. Nevertheless, the growth was mainly led by the private sector, while government provision stayed low at just only five percent of total provision. It can hardly be regarded as a significant change in the government's approach towards its responsibility for childcare. As Jacobs (1998) rightly argued, therefore, the role of the state during the whole period of childcare policy development is 'essentially to organise or co-ordinate private initiative, with possibly adding some financial aid'. Particularly, in the Korean Welfare Model, the state's role as service provider was denied. Instead, the private sector's participation and the familial care have been encouraged. This means that the policy represented a support of the gender-differentiated family and thus care-role of the domestic mother.

3.3 Modernisation of motherhood

As we have seen so far, the Korean labour market has witnessed a significant growth of married women's employment. Furthermore, there has been a rising belief among people in general and women in particular in favour of the appropriateness of female employment. As a consequence, it might be assumed that there has been an important transformation in the gender relation as well as the social practice of motherhood. However, as I have argued, a resistance towards maternal employment can also be observed in current Korean society. Many people believe that female employment is incompatible with motherhood while their children are still too young. In addition, individual families and working mothers are not much supported by the Korean welfare state, as it holds the minimal involvement principle with regard to the caring service programme.

Under this notion, we now turn to the question about the Korean path to the modernisation of motherhood. 'Modernisation of motherhood' has been captured in two different ways in previous research. In Knijn's study (2000), first, modernisation of

motherhood is used as the term that indicates a new paradigm of caring for children, which was introduced during the post-war years in Western countries. Under the great influence of developmental psychology such as Bowlby's attachment thesis, mothers were supposed to professionalise their attitude towards children especially in a sensitive and permissive way. In this usage, modernisation of motherhood focuses on how mothers should take care of their children, and tends to reinforce the traditional motherhood ideology in which motherhood is seen as inevitable, natural and a primary component of being a woman, and home is seen as the mother's place where she stays with her children.

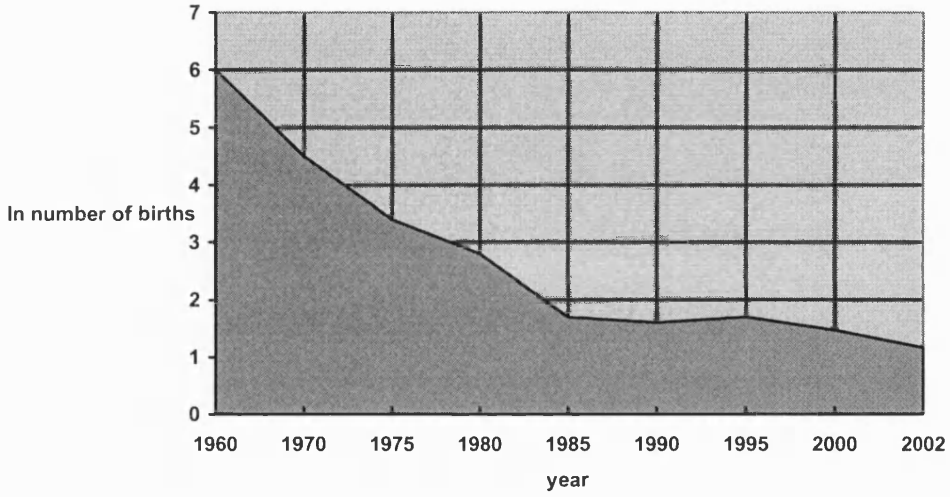
The second usage of this term designates the recent phenomenon of rising maternal employment. Ellingsaeter and Ronsen (1996) use the term, for instance, for referring to motherhood encompassing both childcare and gainful employment. This second usage of modernisation of motherhood indicates altering the practice of motherhood, i.e. what they perform in their state of being a mother. In this chapter, we define 'modernisation of motherhood' with this second definition. Modernisation of motherhood leads the modification of social practice of motherhood from full-time caring role to a caring and earning role. According to Western experience, modernisation of motherhood encompassing both childcare and gainful employment has taken place at different speeds and along different paths (Ellingsaeter and Ronsen, 1996). In some countries, therefore, the dual earner family is dominant as the typical arrangement of a household, while others have the 'one and half earner model', where women work part-time.

Given the lack of state's support for working mothers in a particular ideological circumstance where competing ideologies on motherhood coexist, in which way has the modernisation of motherhood in Korea been processed? Although this is not a simple question which can be dealt with in this small section, I aim to provide a general idea about to what extent Korean motherhood has been modernised and in which form it has been transformed. Based on secondary data, thus, this section focuses on the general characteristics of married women's paid work. As there are no precise official statistics on working mothers with young children, here we are using data on married women's employment behaviour, assuming that women in age group of 25-34 have the most likelihood of having children under age of seven (i.e. pre-school children).

Mothers with young children

During the last few decades, there have been considerable changes in both family life and working life for women. As I mentioned earlier, recent generations have much fewer children than previous generations. Figure 3.2 shows the dramatic changes in Total Fertility Rate. It dropped from 6.0 in 1960 to 1.7 in 1985. Since the mid 1980s, the rate has remained at 1.6 or 1.7 but it went down further to 1.17 in 2002. Subsequently, the average size of family in a household has dropped to just slightly over 3 in 2000 (table 3.4).

Figure 3.2 Total Fertility Rate



Source: KWDI (1991) *Status of Women in Korea,* refers to 1960; NSO (each year) *Social Indicators of Korea,* refers to 1970-2002.

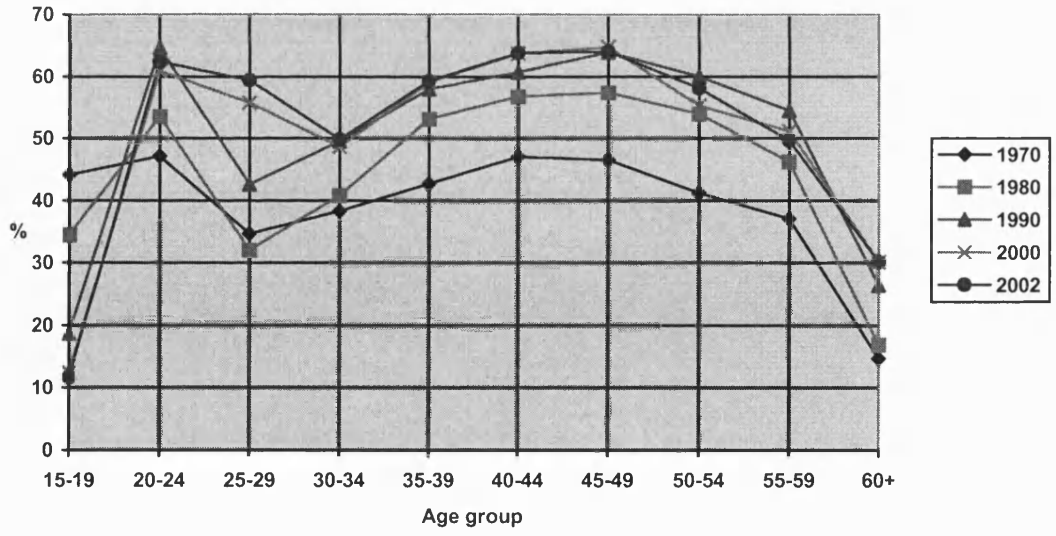
Table 3.4 Average size of a household and composition ratio by the size

Year	Average size (in person)	Size of a household (in per cent)					
		one	two	three	four	five	six & over
1980	4.5	4.8	10.5	14.5	20.3	20.0	29.8
1990	3.77	9.0	13.8	19.0	29.5	18.8	9.8
2000	3.12	15.5	19.1	20.9	31.1	10.1	3.3

Source: KNSO (each year), *Population & Housing Census Report.*

Regarding working life, it has been said that the most common pattern of women's employment in Korea is to leave the labour market either permanently when they got married or had a child, or to have a break during the child-rearing period. This basic pattern of women's employment has not been much altered yet. As shown in figure 3.3, the female labour force participation profile by age group still keeps the double-peaks (M) shape. However, as we have discussed, it is evident that there has been an upward trend in the female labour force participation rate. By 2000, at least half of women in all age groups between 20 and 59 are economically active. As a consequence, the double-peaks shape of the profile becomes less vivid than ever before. In addition, there was a big jump during the last decade among women aged 25-29, who were consistently the lowest in their participation into labour market until 1990 and hence the lowest point of the participation curve has moved from the age group of 25-29 to that of 30-34.

Figure 3.3 Female labour force participation rates by age group



Source: KNSO (various years) *Annual Report on the Economically Active Population.*

It is often said that this movement is due to the trend of late marriage and of delaying childbirth among young couples (Park, K-S., 2002; Lee, M-J., 2002). As table 3.5 shows, the upward trend of average age at first marriage for women during the last four decades is indeed considerable. However, it is also true that most women still married

in their twenties. Furthermore women in the age group of 25-29 show the highest birth rate among all age groups, even though there is a gradual increase of birth rate among women in their thirties (table 3.6).

Table 3.5 Average age at the first marriage

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2002
Female	21.6	23.3	24.1	25.5	26.5	27
Male	25.4	27.1	27.3	28.6	29.3	29.8

Source: KNSO (1996, 2003) *Social Indicators of Korea.*

Table 3.6 Birth rate by age of mother

In per cent

Year	- 19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-
1990	1.4	26.6	54.1	15.4	2.2	0.3	0.1
2000	0.7	11.7	51.9	29.0	5.9	0.8	0.1
2002	0.9	10.6	46.0	34.5	6.9	1.0	0.1

Source: KNSO (each year) *Annual Report on the Vital Statistics*

Another rather optimistic argument for explaining this rapid growth in the labour force participation of women aged 25-29 is that marriage and giving birth are not the significant hindrance for women's employment in the Korean labour market anymore (see, Kim Y-O., 2002). Several changes in state policy concerning women workers and their work environment are often provided for supporting this argument. For instance, gender equal opportunity policies such as the 'ban of marriage bar for female employees' in 1987 might have reduced the negative impact of marriage on women's employment behaviour (Lee, M-J., 2002). In addition, the extension of maternity leave as well as the growth of childcare facilities (see the last section of this chapter) might have helped working mothers to manage work and family at least until they have a second child (Hwang, S-K., 2002).

These explanations certainly need to be examined more carefully, and we will partly contribute to the debate about the impact of policies on women's employment in the following chapters through looking at individual mothers' experiences. Whatever the reasons leading to this particular growth of labour participation among women aged 25-29, the main point of this age-specific female participation curve is that marriage as an interruption factor for participation in the labour market became of less importance for

women, and more mothers with young children engaged in paid work than ever before.

Discontinuity and marital segregation

The increasing number of mothers with young children who joined the labour market implies the transformation of motherhood as well as gender arrangement in a household. According to a cohort analysis of women's labour force participation pattern, however, a rather gloomy picture against more progressive gender relations is illuminated, as the dual earner model does not seem to be a long-term arrangement. For instance, in her study on women's employment behaviour using 2001 KWDI survey data, Park, K-S. (2002) found that as much as three quarters of women in the sample reported that they had work experience, but only one in ten worked continuously. Even though younger mothers, especially those who married in the 1990s, were more likely to have a continuous employment pattern than their counterparts in older generations, Park, K-S. concludes that taking a break is still the most popular employment pattern of women in Korea. Similarly, Kim, Y-O. (1999) argues that the recent rise in married women's labour market involvement is the consequence of the increased number of women who are in and out of the labour market with short-term contracts, rather than the result of increased continuity of women's employment.

The consequences of the discontinuity of female employment are well presented in the on-going phenomenon of marital segregation in the Korean female labour market. It used to be the case that married women were heavily concentrated in a specific industry such as manufacturing and agriculture, while single women were likely to be found in administrative and clerical work (Kim, K-A., 1994). According to recent national statistics (KNSO, 2001a), we can see that this is still the case, apart from the fact that more married women are joining sales and the service sectors than before. By 2000, for instance, married women accounted for more than 95 percent of female workers in manufacturing and in agriculture, while they accounted for 80 per cent of women working in sales and the service sector. In addition, married women are more likely to be self-employed or unpaid family workers while their counterparts (single women) are mostly paid workers (Brinton, Lee, and Parish, 1995; KWDI, 2002).

This industrial segregation between married and single women also reflects their different employment status. Sales and service sectors as well as manufacturing have the highest proportion of non-standard employment. For instance, eight or nine out of ten employees in those sectors are temporary/daily contract workers (Gang,Y-S., 2001). Not surprisingly, thus, there is a high proportion of short-term contract employees among married women. Part-time employment has not become very popular in the Korean labour market (see chapter 6) and in 2000 only 13.6 percent of total female workers were part-time (KNSO, 2001a). Nevertheless, married women accounted for more than four fifths of female part-time workers. While male part-time workers are likely to be found among 20-24 age group and over 60, female part-time workers are disproportionately concentrated in the 30-50 age group. In other words, men are opting for part-time work as pre or post full-time employment, whilst it is a rather more common form of employment for women with family obligation. Furthermore, temporary and daily employed men are mostly older, marginal workers with low education. However for women, marriage and childbirth is more closely connected with their employment status than the characteristics of their human capital (Gwen, H-J., 1999; Suh, M-H., 2002).

Despite the fact that female labour force profile is getting closer to the reverse U shape, this on-going phenomenon of marital segregation in the Korean female labour market implies that family responsibility for women's relation to the labour market has not been altered significantly yet and there seems not a strong evidence of the profound changes in gender relations. Some studies report that men's attitude towards their participating in housework has moved in a more egalitarian direction (Gong, M-H., 1994). Furthermore survey evidence suggests that there is a gradual movement to a more equitable division of domestic work especially among younger generations (Han, K-H., 1996; Cho, S-E. and Moon, S-J., 1998). However, the change of attitudes does not always directly result in changes in their behaviour. As I mentioned in the first chapter, there is little evidence of men's participation in domestic work. According to time-use survey (KNSO, 1999), for instance, there was no significant difference in husband's participation into housework (including childcare) between dual earner and single earner families. While husbands who are solo breadwinners spent 1 hour on housework per day on average, those in the dual earner families spent only six minutes

longer than their counterparts (KWDI, 2000). In many cases, as a consequence, women are moving in and out of the labour market according to family needs, and hence the gender arrangement in a household often moves between a male breadwinner and a dual earner model.

3.4 Conclusion

In order to understand the Korean context in which the social practice of motherhood is performed, this chapter has examined gender culture, the state's role and the characteristics of female employment. In the traditional agrarian society of Korea, the 'family economic model' in which women and men equally contribute to the family economy, was the dominant form of gender arrangement. In this 'family economic model', motherhood was largely immersed in various productive and reproductive works both inside and outside home. Due to the Confucian patriarchal ideology on women's subordination to men, however, women's productive and reproductive works were not much valued. During the industrialisation period, Korean society has followed the 'male breadwinner and female caregiver model'. Although the 'male breadwinner and female care provider model' has never been applicable to working class women who have always had to work as well as care, the cultural norm on gender relation in the industrialised Korean society was predominantly based on this model. Significant attitudinal changes as well as behavioural, which might erode the dominant ideology of motherhood and gender relation have emerged recently. That is, more people prefer women's economic activity to full-time housewife, and more women are actually engaging in economic activities than ever before.

While attitudes and behaviours in relation to motherhood and work are rapidly changing, however, the gender institution in the Korean welfare state has not been caught up with it yet. Although the government has acknowledged the earner aspects of motherhood and hence a significant change in policy has been witnessed recently, in their basic principle, the Korean welfare states still play a minimal role in helping working mothers. The bulk of caring work and responsibility is entirely left to families i.e. women. Studies on the Korean female labour market claim that women's employment behaviour has not much changed even though the actual number who

have had some experience of work during their motherhood has increased. Women are often in and out of the labour market according to family needs. Persistent marital segregation among female workers in their occupations and employment status further confirms the continuity of discontinuities in women's employment pattern. In addition, women's employment during active motherhood is not entirely accepted. That is, women are still expected to perform a caring role when their children are young. It can be said that Korean motherhood is in a process of modernisation but new forms of gender arrangement are not quite settled yet. Instead, Korean families keep moving between the previous forms of gender arrangement i.e. male breadwinner and the modernised form of gender arrangement.

In the following chapters, the social practice of motherhood in the everyday life of Korean mothers with pre-school children will be investigated through qualitative data. Given the lack of support for maternal employment with competing ideologies, how they manage childcare and work will be explored in great detail. Before we move on to the everyday practice of mothers, however, the next chapter will discuss methodological issues.

Chapter 4

Interviewing women about work and care

Throughout the last few decades, an increasing number of sociologists have begun to view personal experience as a resource rather than something that needs to be separated from a research project (Ribbens, 1998; Parr, 1998; Finch, 1993). As those scholars highlight, personal experience may provide the basis for initiating research, it can also be reflected in the development of early research questions, and utilised in making sense of the data. In a similar manner, my interest in the topic of the working mothers' childcare strategy was partly influenced by my own biography at the time of beginning this research. As I was a new mother of a fourteen-month old child when I began the doctorate, balancing work and motherhood was the main concern of mine throughout the period of conducting this research. Of course, my own experiences as a working mother could be a double-edged sword, both enabling and limiting my ability to interpret the participants' account on their personal experiences. Hence considerable thought needed to be given to my approach throughout the research process. Nevertheless, I do believe that being a mother helped me enormously in understanding some of the issues that participants were trying to relay to me. Furthermore, I was startled by the readiness with which women talked to me. As Oakley (1981) argues in her earlier research on motherhood, I found that this readiness was partly due to my personal identity as a member of the group I was studying, and also due to the non-hierarchical nature of the relationship between myself and the women who participated. Opening this chapter with the importance of reflexivity in my research, I set up the investigative process where the methodological issues of qualitative research are raised and where qualitative data are collected and analysed. This chapter also provides a general outline of the research participants and some reflections on interviewing women who combine work with the caring role.

4.1 The choice of qualitative method

There are three reasons why a qualitative methodology using in-depth interviews is considered to be appropriate for my empirical study. First and foremost, it originates from its appropriateness to the research subject. As I was interested in women's subjective accounts and experiences of their dual life as mother and worker, these issues were best addressed through an in-depth qualitative method. Of course, a study of women can be approached with quantitative methods as well as with qualitative, and as Maynard (1994) acknowledges, quantification has made a contribution to our understanding of women's experiences. However, qualitative methodology is more intuitive, subjective and deep, while quantitative is structured, logical, measured and wide (Bouma and Atkinson, 1995). It is greater depth rather than breath which is required in the research data, as I am looking for meanings and processes rather than 'numbers of women who...'. One of the ways of achieving this depth in terms of explanations and perceptions was by listening to, and hearing, what the women themselves had to say. The in-depth interviewing is chosen since it allows me to proceed inductively and to study the Korean women in their own context holistically, and with sensitivity to the interviewee's own frame of reference.

Second, the importance of understanding as opposed to simply measuring public attitudes and behaviour in social policy is another consideration for the research design of this study. Hedges and Duncan note that 'understanding is necessary for the development of effective and appropriate policies in a complex and fast-changing society'(Hedges and Duncan, 2000:193)[1]. Balancing work and care is indeed among the most highly complex of social activities, involving various factors including children's needs, economic benefits, alternative resources for childcare, and the culturally - but also individually - constructed meaning of motherhood. Without an understanding of the complicated process involved in mothers' negotiations between

[1] Two more reasons why understanding is crucial in social policy field are also presented. Firstly in order to change behavior, it may be necessary to change the culture that generates it and that indicates understanding much about the broad context within which policy operates including values, images, feelings and beliefs. Secondly, many aspects of social policy involve communicating and marketing. Therefore policies might not work well if the public doesn't understand what is supposed to happen, and if the culture is pulling people in the opposite direction. (Hedges and Duncan, 2000:194)

work and care, it would be rarely achievable to generate effective and appropriate policies for women workers with children.

Finally, as I mentioned in the previous chapters, the existing literature in Korea provides very little information about the idea of the diversity and dynamics of the working mother's everyday life. They are overwhelmingly quantitative studies, using survey interviews with close-ended questions, or using nationally aggregated data concerning women's employment patterns, birth rates and the like against state provisions for maternity and parental leave, childcare and equal opportunities. This over reliance on nationally aggregated data and quantitative analysis may well lead to the diversities and dynamics in women's experiences being overlooked, and are likely to produce data mainly about 'how many women work/don't work, what types of childcare are arranged and what mothers' preferences are'. To attempt to understand the nature of personal experiences, - for example, why and how mothers adopt a certain strategy for balancing work and care, qualitative research can help us to understand what lies beneath the surface of the phenomenon.

4.2 The research process

This section is divided into four sub sections according to the research procedure. These are preparing fieldwork, sampling, interviewing and analysing. It mainly focuses on what approach has been adopted and how it has been conducted, but some issues raised during the research process are also discussed.

Preparing fieldwork: pilot study and topic guide

Prior to commencing the fieldwork, pilot interviews were carried out in January 2000. Even though it would have been preferable to interview women in Korea for the pilot study, it was conducted in England with four Korean mothers. This was mainly due to practical reasons as I was in England at the time and because I was able to find Korean mothers in England who were willing to give their time for my pilot study. In order to deliver the most recent experience of combining work and motherhood in

contemporary Korean society, the informants were selected among recent immigrants from Korea and those four mothers had been working in Korea until they moved to England between 1997 and 1999 for their/their husbands' study/work. At the time of interview, each had at least one child aged between six and nine years.

Based on the findings of the pilot study as well as the literature review and specific questions this study aims to ask, a topic guide for the interviews was developed. As this study adopted a semi-structured framework, only broad areas for discussion were launched, in no particular order. The following topic areas were developed (see Appendix 1 for detailed topic guide):

- Personal background information
- History of employment
- Arranging childcare
- Family support for childcare
- Sharing responsibility with partner
- Views and attitudes about working mothers
- Being a mother and a worker: meanings, difficulties and benefits

Finding participants

The study primarily targeted currently working mothers. In particular, the presence of pre-school children has been regarded as the crucial hindrance for women combining work and care (Brannen and Moss, 1991; Kim, T.-H., 1995; Kim, Y-O., 2002; Hwang, S-K., 2003). In the sampling, therefore, the age of the youngest child of working mothers has been specified between 0 and 6, as compulsory education starts from age 7 in Korea. During the initial stage of interviewing, however, it turns out that mothers are often in and out of the labour market for childcare reasons, and taking a break at a certain point in their motherhood does not necessarily indicate giving up one (work) for the other (childcare). Rather it should be seen as a part of their strategy to combine both work and care when viewed from the long-term perspective. Therefore, the criteria for sampling was changed from 'currently working mothers' to 'mothers who

have had work experience during their motherhood' and who have at least one child aged 0-6. Mothers who were not working at the point of interview for childcare reasons were not excluded in the sampling.

Another consideration in selecting the sample was that of social class. At the time I began the study, some evidence suggested that the experience of working-class women with young children may differ in important ways from the experience of their middle-class counterparts, and that social class could have an important influence on women's experience as mothers (Bak, S-J., 1998; Jin, S-H., 1998; Cho, E-S., 1999). In addition, the mothers' marital status was considered in the sampling process, as it may also have an impact on working mothers' everyday experience since lone mothers are likely to differ from coupled mothers in terms of their ability to mobilise resources for childcare and their attitudes towards work.

In order to construct a sample that contained working mothers with various social and marital backgrounds, the sample was recruited through the following three different routes: The National Childcare Teachers Association (NCTA), The Korean Welfare Foundation (KWF), and colleagues and acquaintances of the researcher. Firstly, the NCTA which is the largest association of non-profit childcare centres in Korea, provided contact details of its member childcare centres which are located in relatively deprived areas in Seoul, the capital of South Korea. Out of those listed, two centres finally agreed to help the researcher to find participants. Nineteen mothers were obtained from this network, and, as was predicted, they were largely (but not entirely) from working-class with entry-level occupations, including sewing or manufacturing workers. This includes three lone mothers and sixteen married mothers.

Secondly, the KWF, one of the non-government organisations, provided a list of low-income lone mothers who had relied on their financial support as well as the government's. There were ten mothers from this route who were fitting the criteria, but four of them were either unable to be contacted or refused to participate. These were the only refusals during the whole process of my sampling. Accordingly, only six lone mothers were recruited from this KWF network.

In order to recruit better-off mothers, finally, the personal network of the researcher has been utilized as a starting point for a snowballing sampling. Colleagues and acquaintances who were aware of my research and who knew somebody who might wish to participate were the main source of recruiting working mothers from middle-class backgrounds with higher education. Those initial participants then introduced their colleagues, neighbours and/or friends who were fitting the criteria outlined. Twenty-five mothers (including two lone mothers) were recruited through this network and those participants were largely concentrated in professional or semi-professional occupations.

The sample was not intended to be representative of the wider populations of Korean working mothers but was relatively diverse because it was obtained from several particular networks. As I sought to represent the field in its diversity, the sample includes a good mixture of lone/coupled and middle/working class with relatively even distribution across various income levels. Furthermore, the snowball-sampling technique allowed me to have both known and unknown participants with low refusal rate. Another strength of my sample is that the sample on the whole included 19 mothers with both pre-school and school-aged child/children. As a consequence, my study was able to investigate how the meanings and strategies in combining work and care could be changed at different stages in their life. For instance, fulfilling children's needs emerged as an important aspect of motherhood for those of both pre-school and school age children but in different ways.

In total, 50 mothers were interviewed, but one was excluded from the analysis, as the interview did not record clearly due to the problem of the recording equipment. All but six were working mothers at the point of the interview and those six who were not working had recently been out of work (within the past year) to care for their children.

The interview

The interviews, between 60 and 180 minutes in length, were carried out from September to December 2000. In most cases, they were conducted in Seoul, but I also travelled some distance to carry out interviews in other cities where referrals from

other participants lived. The main topic of the interview, i.e. their experiences in performing their dual roles as workers and mothers in Korea, was explained to each interviewee either by telephone or by letter, and their preferable time and place for the interview was sought at the first contact.

In many cases, the interviews were scheduled in the evening or during weekends, in order to avoid the overlap with their working hours, and the participant's home was considered as the preferable place for doing the interviewing. For those who had some flexibility in their work such as university lecturers, primary school teachers or the self-employed, however, the interview was conducted during the daytime on a weekday. In these cases their office or a restaurant/café near their work place were chosen for interviewing. Although it might not be as comfortable as at their home, these settings allowed us to conduct the interview without interruption by children.

Apart from the mothers who were able to have the interview during their working hours, extra childcare was required. In my study, various resources were mobilised for the additional childcare for the interview. In a few cases, their husband looked after the children while we were conducting the interviews. Usually the husbands of the participants in my study were not back from work when I visited in the evening, so they were not available as emergency carers. In a few cases, however, it was the husband who looked after the children by taking them for their bath or by taking them to bed. The head of the childcare centre from the NCTA network was willing to help us by providing care while we were conducting the interviews in the evening. In these cases, the interviews were carried out in an office of the childcare centre. For the others, the contact who had introduced an interviewee to me looked after the interviewee's child. When the interviews were conducted on Sundays, furthermore, I brought my own child with me to the interview and let him play with the interviewee's child. It was possible to interview mothers in the presence of their child/children and there were several cases where I conducted the interviews while children were around. Regardless of the age of the children, however, mothers had to respond to their children's requests constantly.

Before commencing the actual interview, I explained how the material would be used, assuring anonymity, and also the right of the interviewees to end involvement in the research at any time. Every participant was also asked to fill in a demographic information sheet before or after the interview. With the agreement of the participants, the interview was tape-recorded throughout. In order to minimise whatever negative effects its pesence might have, the tape recorder was placed out of sight. In most cases, the semi-structured approach, in which the researcher's main role is to be a good listener and the interviewee is a story-teller rather than a respondent was not familiar to the participants. For example, one woman requested me to ask her questions step by step instead of letting her talk freely, and another wanted confirmation continuously whether she was doing all right. In several cases, furthermore, participants much cared about their voices since they were being recorded. As a part of making the participant get use to in-depth interviewing, thus, I conducted a group interview prior to the individual inerviews and it certainly helped mothers to feel much comfortable in the interview situation. Despite some initial anxieties at the beginning of the interview, once they go on to the main topic, most participants became enthusiastic about telling their stories to me and hardly cared about their performance itself. In a number of cases, furthermore, I could not stop them telling their experiences.

As a follow up, a phone call was made to participants to thank them for their participation as well as to get more data if any important data had not been precisely obtained during the interview. This follow up call was particularly helpful for my study as the participants were likely to tell me about any changes that had happened after the interview. Furthermore, some participants voluntarily rang me back to inform me of any change in their employment and/or childcare arrangements, some time later.

The women interviewed: background information

Table 4.1 provides descriptive information about the 49 mothers included in the current analysis. As it was targeted, all participants had at least one child under the age of seven (0-6). The participants all had between one and three children, with the average family size being two children. Of 49 participants, 14 mothers had two pre-school aged children. Another 19 had another child (or children) older than six. More

than six in ten households consisted of two generations. Participants were between the age of 26 and 45, with a mean age of 34. The majority of participants were married, but eleven participants were lone mothers including seven divorced, three widowed and one separated. All but four were educated at least up to secondary school level and more than half of those with secondary education had a higher degree at the university.

As had been planned in the sampling stage, the occupations of the participants spanned the whole class spectrum from entry-level to managerial positions. One third of the participants were either skilled/unskilled manual workers or service workers including dressmakers, housework helpers and waitresses. Slightly less than one third of the participants had professional or managerial occupations including doctors, university lecturers/professors and managers in companies. The rest and the largest proportion (about two fifths) of the participants fell into the middle category of intermediate professionals. The positions held by participants in this category included teachers, civil servants, childcare workers, and administrative workers. In the case of mothers who had ceased their work at the time of interview, this refers to their previous jobs. Appendix 3 provides further information on each participant.

The average working hours per week was 44, ranging from 8 to 60 hours. The largest group of participants worked for 45 or more hours.[2] In addition, 17 mothers worked more than 49 hours per week. National statistics show that Korean female workers work for 46.6 hours on average. The monthly family income of the participants varied from under £744 to over £3,718. According to national statistics, the average monthly income of an urban family of four was £1,774 in 2000 (KNSO, 2001b). Since the sample in this study largely consists of dual earner households, the family income level of the sample is slightly higher than the average income level in the national statistics. Ten participants who fell into the lowest income category were receiving municipal subsidies for their living and/or childcare cost.

[2] National statistics show that average weekly working hours for female workers is 46.6 in 2000 (KNSO, 2001a).

Table 4.1 Background information of the participants

In numbers of mothers (N=49)

Age		**Type of household**	
20s	5 (10%)	With children only	12 (24%)
30s	39 (80%)	With partner & children	25 (51%)
40s	5 (10%)	With partner, children & other adult	11 (22%)
Marital status		With children & other adult	1(2%)
Married	38 (78%)		
Separated	1 (2%)	**Type of occupations**	
Divorced	7 (14%)	Professional and Managerial	12(24%)
Widowed	3 (6%)	Intermediate professional & Administrative	19(39%)
Education		Skilled & unskilled manual	13(27%)
None	1 (2%)	Self employed	5(10%)
Primary school	3 (6%)		
Secondary school	18(37%)	**Working hours per week**	
University	15(31%)	Under 36	9(18%)
Higher education	12(24%)	36 – 44	12(24%)
		45 and more	28(57%)
No. of children (under 13)			
One	17(35%)	**Monthly family income***	
Two	30(61%)	Under £744	10(20%)
Three	2 (4%)	£744 – under £ 2,231	15(31%)
		£2,231 – under £3,718	17(35%)
No. of pre-schoolers (0-6)		£3,718 and over	7(14%)
One	35 (71%)		
Two	14 (29%)		

*PPP (Purchasing Power Parity exchange rate)[3] for retail price in 2000: £1=1,344.96 Korean currency
Source for the PPP calculation: Korea International Trade Association (2001) *International Trade Yearbook*, IMF (2001) *International Financial Statistics*.

Current forms of childcare are presented in table 4.2. Since 14 participants out of 49 had two children under age seven, the total number of children in the current analysis is 63. All but two children were reported as having a regular childcare provider other than the parents. Those two who did not have a regular arrangement were being looked after by their mother who was not working at the time of interview. The majority of the children of the participants were using collective childcare, and one in five of those with collective childcare arrangements were reported as having an additional informal caregiver to supplement the main care arrangement. The childcare arrangement was

[3] PPP=Nominal exchange rate in the base year x (1+ (Korean inflation rate – British inflation rate)); the nominal exchange rate in 1994 is applied for calculating PPP.

largely dependent on the age of the children. As table 4.2 shows, informal caregivers were more likely to be arranged than collective care for children under three.

Table 4.2 Current forms of childcare

In numbers of children

Forms of care	Total N=63	by age of children		
		Under 3 (n=21)	3-4 (n=19)	5-6 (n=23)
Parents	2 (3%)	2 (10%)	---	---
Grandparents	3 (5%)	3 (14%)	---	---
Nanny	3 (5%)	1 (5%)	2 (11%)	---
Babysitter	1 (2%)	1 (5%)	---	---
Collective only	43 (68%)	14 (67%)	13(76%)	16 (70%)
Collective with a supplementary care (nanny or grandmother)	14 (22%)	---	4(24%)	7 (30%)

Data Analysis

In interview-based studies, the reliance on interview transcripts tends to generate a huge amount of information. Many qualitative researchers, thus, refer to the experience of being "overwhelmed by data" (Bryman, 1989). Faced with a mass of data from loosely structured interviews, using some systematic ways for breaking them down for analysis is urged. For this study, the 'framework' approach, which was developed for analysing qualitative data particularly in applied policy research, was employed to handle the interview transcripts, as it provided a systematic process of sifting, charting, and sorting the material according to key issues and themes (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994).

According to Ritchie and Spencer, the framework approach consists of five key stages including familiarisation, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, and mapping and interpretation. Familiarisation, the first step of analysis in the framework approach, aims to provide an overview of the data and to tease out key issues and themes. By listening to the tapes, reading the transcripts and studying the field notes, the analyst can make her/himself familiar with the material. In the second stage, a thematic framework for sifting and sorting the interview data is developed. Based on the prior and emergent issues raised by the participants, key concepts and themes are

identified. The initial version of the thematic framework, that is often descriptive and deeply rooted in the prior issues, becomes more sensitive to emergent and analytical themes through this refining process. Once the thematic framework has been produced, it is ready to be applied to all the transcripts. While the researcher keeps the common indexes throughout the indexing process, additional elements from the interview materials have to be dealt with through extra subcategories. Indexing is the process of breaking down individual transcripts into manageable pieces, whilst charting, the fourth stage, is the process of bringing individuals together according to appropriate thematic references. Charts are formulated with headings and subheadings, which may be drawn from the thematic framework or from prior research question. However, they can be sorted according to the considerations about how best to present and write up the study. This is an important process as it is the first step of 'building up a picture of the data as a whole' (ibid: 182). As the final step of the analytical process, the analyst begins to pull together key findings and link them to each other and interpret the data as a whole. It is a rather complex and demanding process because the analyst has to weigh up the salience and dynamics of issues and to search for a structure rather than simply to aggregate patterns or to multiply evidence (ibid: 178-193).

Adopting this analytical process, numbers of interview transcripts were selected according to marital status and occupations of participants. I became thoroughly involved familiarising myself with the selected materials, and eventually recurrent themes such as the importance of the trustworthiness of care providers and the children's educational needs emerged, together with an overview and diversity of the data. Based on a priori issues from topic guide and emergent issues raised by the participants themselves, a thematic framework for indexing was established. The full index contained a total of 44 categories within 8 major subject headings (for the detailed index, see Appendix 2). Each transcript was indexed according to the categories and transformed into a bunch of cards. The charts were then sorted by the cards, which appeared quite expedient. The charts were initially devised based on the thematic framework, but also sorted according to considerations of the way of presenting and writing up the study. Mapping and interpretation were highly interconnected with the previous phases. In this final stage, I constantly had to go back

to the research questions but also to stay with the emerging themes from the data. As I had predicted, it was the most difficult time in the analysis process.

Although this framework approach follows such a 'well-defined procedure' in a particular order, those stages are highly interrelated. Furthermore this is neither 'a purely mechanical process' nor 'a foolproof recipe with guaranteed outcome.'(ibid: 177). As in most qualitative research, analysis of unstructured data from interviews largely relies on the analyst as it constantly requires her/him to make detailed, concrete decisions on meaning, salience and connections throughout the analytical process. Using software for qualitative research might be recommendable for dealing with the massive data collected from the in-depth interviews. However, there were two reasons that it seemed not so appropriate for this study. Firstly, the software programme tends to make qualitative material become too fragmented and to quantify it. Breaking down textual material from interviews would be necessary for the analysis to some extent, nevertheless it seems to be more likely to lead researchers to overlook details in the data and to result in telling only part of the stories, rather than presenting their wholeness. Secondly since two different languages are used in two different worlds, i.e. the world investigated and the world it represented, the whole text of 49 interviews transcribed in Korean would have to be translated word by word into English in order to use the software. This was not the case in the framework analysis as I could accomplish the analysis with the material written in Korean and only those testimonies that were going to be quoted were translated after the analysing process.

Qualitative research often presents participants' testimonies in the text especially in a way as they were spoken and pronounced. The vocabularies, expressions, and the way of speaking reflect various background information about the person and about the interview situation, thus it generates richness of qualitative materials. When interview materials are once translated into another language, however, those delicate indicators in the original testimonies might not be delivered as precisely as they were produced. Acknowledging this problem of translating original material as well as the problems of fragmenting qualitative data, a 'pen portrait' description was adopted for representing the data. According to Hollway and Jefferson (2000), 'the pen portrait aimed to write something, which made the person come alive for a reader. It would be largely

descriptive and provide enough information against which subsequent interpretations could be assessed. In a way it serves as a substitute whole for a reader who will not have access to the raw data but who needs to have a grasp of the person who figures if anything said about him or her is going to be meaningful'(ibid: 70).

4.3 Conclusion

Qualitative methodology and in-depth interviews were employed for this study because of their appropriateness to the research subject, the existing over-dependence on quantified data in examining working mothers and childcare issues in Korean literature, and the importance of understanding their everyday life in the social policy field. Although most participants experienced some initial anxiety due to unfamiliarity with the in-depth interviewing, they became very enthusiastic in telling their stories and the readiness with which women talked to a stranger (the researcher) made me astounded. Even after the interview, furthermore, some mothers rang me back to inform me of any change in their strategy to combine work and care.

Despite this readiness, however, interviewing working mothers with small children could never be easy. It is essential that the participants had a certain amount of time to devote to the interview. However it was difficult to fit an additional 1-2 hours length activity into their bustling lives between work and care. During the daytime they were busy at work. Evenings or weekends were thus the only available times for the interviews, but then childcare problem came to the fore. Furthermore, weekends were often engaged with various activities such as taking children to out of school clubs, family gatherings as well as weekly shopping. These difficulties in scheduling and conducting interviews indicated that interviewing women with both work and care for children requires much consideration about the practical demands on time and childcare. Furthermore, researchers have to anticipate contingency (unexpected events often occurred in their work or family), which may result in delays and rearrangement of the interviews.

There are some possible limitations in my study. The sample was restricted to working mothers with pre-school children, and therefore the experience of mothers combining

work and care throughout their lifetime was not fully investigated. As in most qualitative studies, in addition, this study may have the problem of generalisability since the sample contains certain groups of women recruited from particular networks. However, some strengths of my sample also can be found. The sample on a whole contains 19 mothers of both pre-school and school aged children, so that the changing views and strategies at the different stages of motherhood have been investigated to some extent. Furthermore, the sample has a good combination of informants from different social and marital backgrounds. These may help to complement the above limitations of the sample to some extent. Furthermore, a pen portrait type of description adopted in presenting the data may lead readers to grasp more information about the person as well as the interview, and hence enhance the richness of qualitative materials.

The following chapters present the findings of in-depth interviews with 49 mothers. As I mentioned earlier, these chapters are divided according to the different types of mother's employment response, as it seem to be the most appropriate way to address dissimilarities and similarities among the mothers I interviewed. Each chapter presents several representative cases, starting with a pen portrait type of description including detailed information about their everyday life, their employment history and the interview situation and so on. Within each case, however, I also employed the thematic analysis and hence all participants in this study are represented throughout the analysis.

Chapter 5

Constructing motherhood I: Taking breaks

Given the M shape of the women's labour force participation profile, it is often assumed that most women in Korea are leaving the labour market either temporarily or permanently when they face the conflict between work and family. As a consequence, taking a break is regarded as the most popular strategy for working mothers in Korea as a reconciliation of work and motherhood. Not surprisingly, the largest proportion of mothers in my study had paused in their career at least once by the time I interviewed them. Among forty-nine mothers, thirty-five had had a career break experience without securing their position at work, and as expected, they show a strong relationship between their withdrawal from the labour market and their childcare responsibilities. From bearing to educating children, becoming a mother was the most significant constraint of these women's employment. The evidence from my study, however, reveals that the discontinuity of women's working life is not only derived from motherhood, but also from various other causes. Womanhood (being a woman), in particular, prevented some mothers from staying at work. As a consequence, working mothers' breaks are more likely to be practiced multiple times than just once during a woman's lifetime. This chapter focuses on those thirty-five mothers who had paused in their work at least once during their lives. Based on these mothers' conceptualisation of their decision to leave work, this chapter explores how motherhood and womanhood affect women's work and their everyday lives. The names of interviewees presented here are renamed for anonymity.

5.1 Motherhood: bearing and caring for children

Jueun is a twenty-nine year old married insurance seller with two children aged two and four. She had worked as a clerk before having a child, at which point she decided to be a full-time mother. After staying at home for four years, she started a new career and began sending her two children to a childcare centre. As in Jueun's case, it is often

believed that many women in Korea move out of the labour market when they have their first child and return at some point after the rearing period. However, the following cases show that this does not accurately reflect the reality which working mothers in Korea are confronting.

Lack of resources: external constraints

Soony is a thirty-five year old, skilled dressmaker[1] who has high-school (secondary school) education. She and her husband, a lathe and milling technician, have three girls, aged seven, five and two. Soony's family lives in an industrial complex area of Seoul. I interviewed her on a weekday evening at the childcare centre she used for her youngest child.

Soony has worked for about ten years as a sewing worker with four breaks. Except the very first break for her vocational training, the other three breaks were closely related to her childcare responsibilities, although each of the situations when she made the decision to stop work was different.

"When I had my first child, I had stopped working for eight months. Since I wanted to go back to work, I already put my name on the waiting list of childcare centre before my daughter was born. After the break, I had worked for about a year, and I had second.. no..no before that, my working place was closed down, thus I had to find another place for work. But soon I found I was pregnant. Thus stopped searching (job) and stayed home with two kids. Although I don't think mother's care is the best, because of the circumstances, you know. In addition, we moved to outskirts of Seoul around that time. So, it's not easy to work. But I found my first child wasn't happy about staying home with her sister and me for whole day. She cried every night, and doctor recommended sending her to childcare centre. So in order to send her, I had to work after three or four years break. Most mothers send their children to childcare centre in order to work, but my case is the opposite isn't it? Anyway I started work again and.. er.. I had another baby quite unexpectedly and had three months break"(Soony)

Even though one of her breaks was initiated by another factor, i.e. unemployment, her second pregnancy made her give up searching for a job and her responsibility of caring

[1] Dressmakers mean those who have sewing skills using a sewing machine. Dressmakers are also described as sewing workers.

for two children led her to stay home. Having a child and caring for her children is indeed the main constraint on her employment. When I asked if there was any possibility of using family members for childcare, Soony immediately said she did not agree with getting help from her elderly parents. However, as the interview was going on, it became clear that she rarely has family resources available for her.

"No, I never thought about it (using familial care) even once. Though I have mother and mother-in-law, I don't think it's a good idea. I know how hard it is for the elderly, so I did not ask. If there is no way of caring children, then I might, but there are centres which provide childcare and I think it's not bad for children to be cared for in a group, so... Well, if I asked, they might not refuse I think, but I didn't. My mother lives with my elder brother and she does the caring for his child since he is divorced. I also have a sister but she is busy at work... she has to go out early in the morning to sell things, so it is not a kind of situation that I could think about receiving help from them.... My mother-in-law....well... we do not get on with each other and she lives in another county with her first son's family." (Soony)

Those mothers who had job breaks for childcare were found, to the largest extent, among working-class mothers. They were mostly dressmakers or clerical assistants with no more than high-school education and frequently entry-level workers. That is, they had the lowest position in the occupational hierarchy and hence it was relatively easy for them to move out of work without any risk of downward mobility. In the case of mothers who had marketable skills like Soony, they were likely to have breaks multiple times. For instance, five out of six skilled sewing workers in this work pattern had stopped their work more than once but they reported that they had no difficulties in finding jobs after the break.

"*Yes, yes, yes. It's quite easy for us to find a job, I mean skilled sewing workers like me. No problem at all in our job, because nowadays young girls don't like to do this job. They prefer office work. So, whenever you want, you can get work as long as you have skill" (Eunjee, 31, sewing worker, married)*

Eunjee has explained that sewing workers could easily get a place to work since young single women prefer sitting behind a computer to a sewing machine. According to national statistics, indeed, the share of single women in the manufacturing sector was going down from 36 per cent in 1985 to 6.9 per cent in 1998 (Gang, Y-S. and Shin, K-A., 2001).

Another common feature relating to the employment of those who had breaks due to childcare is that they usually worked in a private small business where the total number of employees was under five. Those small sized working places are unlikely to have a maternity leave policy[1] and hence, even though they had a break as short as 60 days (the legal duration of maternity leave), they had to officially resign. For instance, Mihee, a thirty-five-year old married mother of two children mentioned:

"My current job (working at a manufacturing factory)... I started this job in 1998 when Anna (her first child) was 7 months old. I had jobs several times before, but the jobs lasted long for just one or two months, may be. I had second baby after, but this factory had no leave... the...maternity leave. So, I had to quit when I had second child and re-enter the same position after two months break." (Mihee)

In addition to the limitations in their occupational resources, these working-class mothers who had job breaks were unlikely to have familial resources for their childcare. Their lack of family resources was explained by loss (death) of their family members such as their mother or mother-in-law. While for other relatives who are alive, they live distance geographically from these mothers. In addition, health problem of the female relatives was also provided as one of reasons for not being able to mobilise familial care. However, the most outstanding and common explanation is that their female relatives are busy working for their living.

"My mother already passed away. Although my grandmother is alive but she is working at a restaurant ...with daily payment you see? So, she could not take care of my kids...um I have an aunt but she has a weak constitution. I could not think of asking her either." (Sowon, 29, sewing worker, married)

"I have no one who can help me. My mother-in-law died and my mother is too old to take care of her grandchild.... she has dementia..... and the others are busy to live, they all work."(Sona, 34, childcare worker, married)

"Since there is no relatives who have time to provide care..... Even if there were, I have to pay for that (since her relatives work for money). Thus it's better to use childcare centre.... I don't need to pay for that (since she is a lone mother with low income, she can get a free place in a childcare centre). I don't need to worry about my child while they are in the centre." (Yeonmi, 39, housework helper, lone mother)

[2] According to the amended Labour Standard Act in 2001 (Chapter 5; Article 72), female employees could claim 90 days (it was 60 days until 2000) maternity leave with pay before and after delivery.

The above testimonies suggest that the extended family members of these working-class mothers have a similar socioeconomic background to them, in which the female members have to go out to work in order to contribute to their own family income. As Eunhey in the following testimony clearly points out, thereby, every individual in their family of origin (or in-laws) has to be independent from each other.

"I could not think about my relatives for childcare. My mother passed away and mother-in-law lived in countryside... ... I have seven brothers and sisters, but no one I could ask help. They all lived too far from my house, and they were busy for their living. I could not expect anything from them. I have to solve my own problem by myself....I have to be independent... But I appreciated that there is childcare centres caring young babies." (Eunhey, 34, sewing worker, married)

It was not only these mothers who had a lack of resources in their human capital and family support who took breaks. Instead, those who had career breaks for children were found across all occupations including professional and intermediate professionals, such as lecturers, students, childcare workers. Furthermore, their educational qualifications and the resources for family support also differ from those manual working mothers.

'Mother' is more important than 'working': internal constraints

Yuna is a thirty-four years old part-time lecturer who has been married for six years and has two children, aged five and one. Her family lives in a four bedroom flat owned by her parents-in-law in an upper-middle-class section of Seoul. Yuna had her own flat in the same area, but in order to finance her husband's business, her family moved into his parents' house. Since her parents-in-law have another house in their hometown and stays there most of the time, just her four family members usually live in the flat.

Yuna has been working for almost a year as a part-time lecturer after her second break. Her first break was taken when she was doing her PhD. Yuna suspended her study for one year in order to take care of her first child, and arranged a childminder (*Noribang,* home-based childcare centre) later on. The childcare cost was funded by her parents-in-law not because she could not afford it herself but because her parents-in-law wanted to do so. By the time she took another break for her second child, she had

worked for one term as a part-time lecturer after finishing her studies. Although her own mother, who lived in another county, was willing to take care of her children, Yuna told me that she could not accept the idea of parents and children living apart.

"*To be frank with you, I left my daughter (her first child) in my mother's (house) when she was 10 months old. But I took her back 2 weeks later, because I could not find any reason why I had to live separately from my child. If I gave birth to her at all, I think we have to live together... Well..., because I was not in an urgent situation, I could decide to bring her back. You see, I did not have a job at that time, just a student..... Someone might say I don't have professional mind in work. Yes, it's probably right, but I'm a 'working mother', and I think 'mother' is more important than 'working'. 'Working' is just a modifier."(Yuna)*

Yuna had the ability to mobilise family resources for childcare, however she chose the same employment response towards her motherhood as Soony. As is mentioned, it is mainly explained by her commitment to her motherhood role and her personal wish to be with her child. Yuna used a childcare centre (*Arineejip*, centre-based collective care) for her first child, and employed a visiting nanny for her second.

Young is another mother who decided to take breaks for her children even though she was able to mobilise other family members for childcare. Young is a thirty-six year old full-time researcher who has children aged seven and five. For the first six years of her motherhood, Young had worked as a part-time lecturer. During those years, she had breaks several times for bearing and caring for her two children. Since Young and her husband, a medical doctor, live with Young's parents who are retired and have looked after children, Young did not necessarily have to stop teaching. Nevertheless, Young decided to take breaks. Although she did not give further explanations for her decision to stop work, the following testimony shows that Young has a strong commitment to her role as mother as it was in Yuna's case. Young was talking about her decision to accept her current job as researcher;

"The main reason that I work for this research centre is... frankly speaking, this is not a well paid job. And I knew it, before I decided to work here. But the office was close to my house and working nine to five. I did not care about money. The only concern was whether I could manage motherhood along with it. Working hours, distance from my house and how often I have to go to business trips... those are the

criteria to find job for me. When I was offered this job, I firstly asked how many days I supposed to work overtime, it was my first question...." (Young)

Young's case highlights that motherhood does not only confine women's employment pattern but also it puts a restraint on the kind of job mothers can choose. This is echoed by Soony.

"I've always been in charge of the final work (in the dress making process). Since I'm often off for children matter, I cannot do a work in the middle of the whole process. Other workers finish all work but the final. When I get back, I press sewing machine over night.... thus I can not learn other process or new work." (Soony)

In comparison with Soony, Yuna and Young are affluent mothers in their resources to mobilise for childcare. They could choose other strategies rather than taking breaks. For instance, they might employ a nanny or could use familial care as they once adopted during their motherhood. However, they decided to move out of the labour market and it indicates that structural constraints, i.e. lack of resources, are not the only reason for mothers' decision to stop work. Rather, internal constraints such as their perception of motherhood and their commitment to the role of mother gain more power in explaining the cases of Yuna and Young. They believed that a mother has to be with her children at least for the first several months, and they were able to put their beliefs into practice. In this respect, Yuna and Young might be considered as voluntary career breakers, while Soony did so involuntarily.

Despite these dissimilarities between working-class and middle-class mothers in this work pattern, it might be argued that they share similarities in their position at work. In other words, they are similar to each other in a sense that they had less to lose from moving into and out of the labour force. As we have seen before, Soony and most other working-class mothers who had breaks in their employment were entry-level workers who had the lowest position in their occupation. Middle-class mothers who took breaks were either students or part-time teaching professionals when they decided to take a break in their work, like Yuna and Young. As with the working-class mothers, therefore, these mothers are also in the lowest position within their own occupational hierarchy so that it would not result in downward occupational mobility even they took

time out to care for their children. Soony's job is, of course, lower level work than that of Yuna and Young when we look at the occupational hierarchy. However, within their own profession, it could be argued that Yuna and Young are also entry-level workers. Since their work as part-time lecturer is based on one-term contracts (four-month) and no other promotion is guaranteed even though they work continuously, ceasing work for a while did not affect their working life significantly.

It's not that simple: external and internal constraints

Although most mothers with breaks were similar to each other in their weak position in employment status, Chung, a thirty-two years old former childcare worker who is a married mother of a three year old girl, seems a rather exceptional case. She was not a part-time worker or an entry-level worker either. By the time she decided to break, she had worked full-time for more than seven years. Furthermore maternity leave was available to her in her place of work. Nevertheless, she decided to take a break when she was pregnant.

"Because I'd like to breast-feed my baby.... But... in fact, I couldn't do anything because of morning sickness (during her pregnancy). The smell of food and of children (in the childcare centre)...even I hated people's coming close to me. I could not bear those situations. So I stopped work at the early stage of my pregnancy. But, already I had been thinking that I'd better to stop work if I had a child. Because...I had been worked as a child carer for seven years, and seen several colleagues who had great difficulties when they had a baby. Basically, they could not be free from caring work for 24 hours, you see, caring children here (childcare centre) and did the same work at home for their own child. Even during the pregnancy, it is really difficult to work as a child carer. If our work can be divided into several parts (like manufacturing work, for instance), it might be possible to allocate the pregnant to light or easy work by means of consideration of the pregnant colleague. But, you know, our work is not dividable, it isn't possible. I mean it is not possible that a carer do only one job such as changing nappy for all children in the centre.....Anyway, I wanted to stay at home until my daughter is 24 months old. If possible, mother should care children at least until 24 months, I think. They need their own mother. Furthermore.... Now this centre provides care service for infant, but it didn't have before, and it was so difficult to find care centre for children under 24 or 18 months at that time."(Chung)

Unlike the above mothers, Chung spent much time to explain about her decision-making, and provided various justifications for her career break: breast-feeding, health

problem from pregnancy, the character of the job, her desire to be with her child, and the lack of childcare provision for infants. Providing multitudinous reasons might reflect that she felt the necessity of justifying herself. As I mentioned already, Chung was in a relatively strong position in her occupation, compared with the above mothers. She was a full-time worker with a long career experience without a break, and hence she had much to lose from moving out of work. Given the lack of external constraints to justify her break, Chung might have felt strongly that she needed to explain her decision-making process in great detail. No matter what the reason was for giving such long explanation, Chung's testimony particularly demonstrates that mothers' decision to stop work is not an easy process and various internal and external factors are mixed together in their reconciliation.

From various justifications provided by Chung, we can draw out several common explanations of their decision to stop work found in other mothers in this employment pattern. Firstly, mothers in my interview discussed their personal wish to be with their own children and devote themselves to looking after them. Even in the case where they could rely on family members for childcare, they deliberately chose a career break in order to look after their children on their own. Seran, a thirty-four–year-old part-time lecture with two children aged seven and two, had stayed home for one and a half years when her second child was born. Seran was able to get help from her mother for childcare, nevertheless she decided to take a break. She provided several reasons for her decision to stop work: finishing her study, her husband's transfer and having a second child. However, Seran claims her strong desire to be with her children.

"After getting my degree (PhD.), I was not working for a while. Because my husband was transferred to other city and I was pregnant (second baby)....and....I wanted to have a break since I had never been out of work. But, most of all I thought making relationship with my children is important. I wanted to take care of my child myself. My first son, he was brought up by my mother for 5 years (while she was doing her study). I missed out on his early years. But I did not want it to happen again, I wanted to see my child from the beginning, I liked to be with and bring up my children myself. "(Seran)

Secondly, a health problem in the early stage of pregnancy i.e. 'morning sickness' is one of the justifications for ceasing work for some mothers in my study. According to the Labour Standard Act (Chapter 5: Article 72), "Pregnant female employees shall be

transferred to other light and easy work when requested by them and shall not be assigned to overtime work." However, as Chung mentioned, it is not always possible to divide heavy or light work depending on job characteristics. Furthermore, if the workplace has a small number of employees, the degree of influence on other workers from one person's absence or illness is often far greater than where there are more employees. As a consequence, those mothers who had irritable morning sickness stopped work much earlier than the actual arrival of the child.

Thirdly and less clearly than the above two explanations, mothers reported that they could not find proper alternative care for their very young children. Here the term 'proper' conveys a two-fold meaning: quality and quantity of childcare provision. In my study, 'proper care' more often addresses the quality side of the alternative care, i.e. whether the carer is trustworthy. The lack of good quality care was provided as a justification for mothers' dependence on familial care and it was closely connected with mothers' feeling uncomfortable for leaving their children with non-family members. Chung also expressed her anxiety about using other types of childcare even though she was a childcare worker, so that she decided to provide mothering care to her child rather than arranging other substitute care. However, the quantity side of childcare provision was also provided as one of factors that prevented Chung from continuing in her or returning to the same work after the break. Other mothers in this work pattern also conceptualised their decision to stop working in terms of availability of childcare facilities for very young children, though it is not the only reason they provided.

From the stories of mothers in this section, we have found various reasons for their decision to take breaks. Firstly, lack of resources to mobilise for childcare might be considered as the most significant factor that explained working-class mothers' decision to move out of the labour market. Considering their financial situation these mothers have quite strong need to stay at work. However, their low position at work and poor resources both in family and occupation mean that these mothers can have breaks easily and frequently as a way of solving childcare. Taking a break is, however, not only the working-class mothers' typical response towards their motherhood. Even for middle-class mothers who are affluent in their resources for childcare, staying out

of the labour market for several months or years was employed as a way of practicing their motherhood. In case of the middle-class, other factors are emphasised for explaining their decision to move out of work, such as their motherhood ideology as well as their position at work. As we have seen in Chung's case, nevertheless, the decision to take a break is not a direct cause-effect relationship. Instead, it is often complex, and various elements are intertwined with each other.

5.2 Motherhood: educating children

In the previous section, we have focused on those mothers who had breaks in order to practice motherhood, especially childbearing and caring for children. Compared with those mothers, however, mothers in this section highlighted only one particular reason, as the main impetus for their decision to stop working. It was their 'children's educational needs'.

Becoming a mother of a primary school child

Geewon is a thirty-three-year-old, full-time mother who had worked as a part-time lecturer as well as a ballerina. She is married and has two children, aged seven and five. I interviewed her one morning in a cafeteria near her second child's kindergarten. When I arrived at the place, she was with a group of mothers whose children were going to the same kindergarten as hers. Instead of going back home after taking her child to the kindergarten, she usually stays with those mothers to share information or discuss various issues related to children. When I met her, Geewon had been a full-time mother for seven months. Although she twice had had six-month breaks when she gave birth, those were regarded as necessary for her career. According to Geewon, a ballerina needs a certain period after delivery for recovering her figure. The current break, however, was considered different from the previous ones. She expressed it as 'giving up' her career rather than a break in her career.

"Because my first child became a school boy...I thought going to the school is different from going to the kindergarten. I think he needs mother's support. Thus, I decided to give up my job. And.. the school is not in our residential area. Because of its (good) environment, I decided to send my child to a private

school. It's quite far from my house. So I have to collect him in the afternoon.....My work was very successful, I mean, I was almost appointed the permanent lectureship (in a university). But I have changed my standard... for my children. I thought, "this is the time I had to devote myself to my children. Um,, and they (her children) really like my decision." [Could you tell me your usual day schedule nowadays?] "Um.. when I get up in the morning, I make my husband be ready for work first. Then making my first son be ready for school and taking him to the school-bus collection point at 7:40. Then, finally my second and I could go out for Kindergarten. Kindergarten has programme from 9 to 12. Thus in the morning, I can have my own time, like this (having an interview)...usually I stay with other mothers here or go shopping and so on. Then collect my second at noon. After having lunch, I collect my schoolboy. His school is quite close to this Kindergarten. Then they go to other extra classes, for example English class or swimming etc. Thus I always have to be available for taking them to and from those activities. By the time when we arrive at home, it's usually 6 o'clock."(Geewon)

As Geewon's narrative reveals, one of the most interesting findings is that mothers in my study emphasised the necessity to be available for meeting the educational needs of their children. For Geewon, her first son's schooling was the main impetus of her current career break. Furthermore her support for her children was mainly concentrated on providing transportation from school to other activities, and her motherhood consisted of this activity to a large extent. Geewon particularly raised the issue of extracurricular activities. Organised sports such as football and swimming, and lessons in English and musical instruments are some examples of these extra activities. Of course, not all of the children in my study attended these kinds of activities, and several full-time working mothers reported that they had to give up sending children to these activities. This is because, as Geewon shows, enabling children to participate in these activities often turns out to be the matter of availability of time. In order words, it requires not only money for fees and equipment, but also the time for providing transportation to and from these activities. Thus, it is not always possible even for those mothers who can afford to organise and use the extracurricular activities for their children without their taking time off of work or depending on others.

My son cannot read Korean

Yumi is another mother who was not working at the time of the interview. Both Yumi and Geewon shared a similar conception of motherhood as well as their everyday life

style. Yumi is a thirty-four-year-old mother of a six-year old boy. She is married and was expecting her second baby at the time when I interviewed her. With the help of an informal carer in her neighbourhood, she was able to keep her career as a dance instructor for the first five years of her motherhood. However, when she found out about her son's poor ability to read, Yumi decided not to work any more.

"He (her son) enters primary school soon, but you know he still doesn't know how to read. Gosh, it's mother's responsibility isn't it. That's why I had to stop (work) actually. There are many learning programmes, of course, and I had tried to send him to some private institutes, and once I had arranged a private tutor for helping him to learn Korean letters. But it was difficult to manage because my work schedule was not fixed .. like nine to five. Sometimes, I worked till 1 o'clock in the morning for teaching students (who were preparing examination) and I also had provincial performances or went abroad for show. So even using a private tutor was not possible for me. My son likes to learn and to read books, but because of me, he was not able to do what he wanted... My life was in a bustling...I was always pressed with work. I was not able to provide proper education for my son. I think I already missed chances when he needed something. My son has never been to 'Jamboree' (an international camp for children), for instance. I was not able to take him out for visiting somewhere.. like Museum. That's what I regret." (Yumi)

By presenting her absence in the past, Yumi also emphasised the importance of a mother's availability for fulfilling her children's educational needs. Furthermore, Yumi directly tied her son's illiteracy to her own responsibility, and this exactly suggests how the current society conceptualises motherhood. As one mother in my study pointed out, children's educational achievement reflects back on mothers, not fathers. Furthermore, success in school is often tied to future well being, such as the potential for university and for well-paying job. In this respect, mothers' responsibility for fulfilling their children's educational needs might be perceived stronger than their responsibility for caring for their young children.

Across all occupations and employment patterns, most mothers in my study expressed their concern about their children's educational needs. Helping children with their homework, supervising children during non-school hours, participating in various school events or taking them to extracurricular activities were the most frequently mentioned components of what mothers should be available for. Even those mothers whose children were not school aged yet clearly see that their working life is going to

be interrupted once again. For instance, Enjee, who is a thirty-one-year-old skilled dressmaker with two children aged four and two, and had experience of two breaks for childcare, told me;

"I don't think I can work continuously. Because I think if the eldest child became a primary school student, mother must stay at home. I already gave a promise to my husband. I started work on the condition that I will stop working when Jisun (her first daughter) goes to the primary school. I totally agree with the idea. At least until first several years in the primary school, mom should be at home, I think. Thus I have to work hard until that time. [Is there any specific reason?] *Because there are so many things mother should do. I have school age nephews so I know well about it. Their homework is almost mother's homework. When my second is going to the school, my first one can help her homework. Otherwise, mother has to do." (Enjee)*

Of course, not all mothers in my study could stop their work for the reason of their children's education. In particular, none of the working-class mothers with school-aged children had actually paused in work for children's education. For these mothers, their earning is perceived as more important than their availability for meeting their children's educational need. As Geewon highlighted, of course, both money and time are equally important for approaching various educational programmes. However, enhancing affordability comes first in these cases and hence keeping a job is conceptualised as part of practicing their motherhood in relation to satisfying their children's educational needs.

Even though there are differences in their response towards children's educational needs, mothers' concerns about and pressure from children's schooling and education came up repeatedly during the interviews across all classes and occupations and provided a new insight towards the pattern of women's career breaks and their construction of motherhood. It has been often assumed that most women move out of the labour market in the early stage of their parenting and it still remained true in most cases (Hwang, S-K, 2003; Kim T-H, 2000, Mun, Y-K, 1998). However, the mothers in my study showed that their first child's entering school is also a significant life event for mothers and sometimes it is an even stronger constraint on their employment than their children's care need.

5.3 Womanhood: being a wife, daughter-in-law and family carer

As we have seen from the above cases, most mothers in my study show a close relationship between their career breaks and practising their motherhood, i.e. bearing, caring for and educating children. However, the evidence from the interview also reveals many other interruption-factors for women's employment, which are particularly tied to marriage and related factors. Among thirty-five mothers with career break experience, twelve mothers had paused in their work at the point when they had married. These were relatively older woman and mostly held manual jobs including dressmaking, personal service and clerical assistance. However, younger mothers and those with professional occupations were also found among those twelve mothers. This is a rather unexpected finding since statistics and surveys have shown significant changes in people's attitude about women's employment during the last decade, as we have seen in chapter 3. Despite this change in people's attitude, why does marriage still seem significant as a determinant of women's withdrawal from the labour market? Although my interview does not fully explore the reasons for this as it focused on motherhood primarily, the following explanations from mothers in my study help us to understand this on-going phenomenon.

Lym, Sumin and Chayoen

"I did not want to work anymore, I was bored, you see. I had worked since I was a middle school girl. I just wanted to be at home" (Sowon, 29, sewing worker, married)

"I had worked for seven years before I got married. I liked to continue to work after marriage, because it was a good company. But, the atmosphere did not allow married women to continue to work. So I had to give up. There were many married women in manufacturing part but not in our department (administration part)."(Won, 33, clerk, married)

As is shown in the above testimony, firstly, the mothers I interviewed expressed their personal wish to be free from work. Especially for those who had worked since they were teenagers, getting married was seen as an opportunity to be released from their hardship. Secondly, even when they wanted to stay in the labour market, the 'Marriage

Ban'[2] was in operation for female employees in some jobs. In this case, therefore, getting married meant a change not only of her marital status but also of her employment status. However, these two explanations are rather direct and simplified versions of the marriage-impact on women's working lives. Often the connotation of marriage on womanhood is complex and it affects women's working lives in many indirect ways. The next mother's narrative provides a glance of the meaning and impact of marriage on womanhood.

"All my course work (in Ph.D. course) had been finished by the time when I got married. It was my plan, you see, I thought I had to finish hard part (of her study, i.e. course work) before marriage. After getting married, I had suspended my study (she had to write her thesis), because I wanted to be relaxed for some period.. In fact, I had never been released from work and I had to adjust myself to a new situation,...you know, making relationship with in-laws and also with my husband....especially, as you know, I moved to this city because of my husband (his work place). Otherwise I would not have worked at this university. Anyway, I also needed sometime to be familiar with the new environment as well. Thus, I had a break for about a year."(Lim, 32, lecturer, married)

As Lim mentioned, she had a pause in her working life when she became a married woman, not only because she had never been freed from work before but also because she felt the necessity to accustom herself to her new status as a married woman. Lim's case suggests that marriage is an important life event for women, which is not always pleasant but often stressful as it gives several new roles to her, including wife and daughter-in-law. Although marriage equally imposes on men to play new roles, they can be 'good husbands and sons-in-law' by being good workers and thus providing their families with financial resources. Therefore, their new roles do not much differ from what they have been doing before marriage. However, good wives and daughters-in-law are not necessarily attached to being good workers, rather marriage is still more closely defined to meaning being good carers for family members. In this respect, marriage might be considered as a shifting point for a woman from one of care-receiver from her own mother to a main caregiver for her new family including her in-

[2] Marriage ban is one of labour market customs, that female employees have to resign if they are going to be married, but assumed that has disappeared as more women participate in the labour market. According to Korean Women Workers Association (2002), however, only 58% of factories they surveyed reported that they actually gave maternity or parental leave to their female workers during the last three years. In the rest of factories, marriages ban was still activated tacitly (02.04.2002. Hankyore Newspaper)

laws. The following narrative of Sumin, a forty-year-old childcare worker who is married and has two children aged eight and six, shows how the traditional ideology of woman's primary duty as a family carer created difficulties in one woman's life.

"Once I almost gave up my work....almost.... At that time, I planned to take training course for childcare worker while I was working as a care assistant, but we (she and her husband) found my-mother-in-law had cancer. She was hospitalised, but no hope for surviving. I did not want to quit my job for caring her but keeping my work was really hard because my husband was so angry with me. My husband criticised ' how can you do this? Why don't you stop your work and care my mother? Isn't it your duty?' ...Fortunately, my health insurance covered the treatment cost for my mother-in-law, so I could argue 'if I gave up my work, how about health insurance?' thus I could continue to work ..... He always thinks I make a sacrifice of himself and of my children for my work. (He) often told me 'You have to be with our children when they need mother, don't you think so?' I know what he means.. making balance between work and family. But it is more than that, it was so painful to me. For 9 years I had been suffered from that kind of criticism by my husband.....After getting married, I realised it is really difficult to live as a woman in our society. If a man wants to study, he can do it without any permission or other responsibility. But for a woman, she has to persuade her husband, has to arrange childcare, has to ask parents-in-law, even though she is clever enough and can afford." (Sumin)

Although Sumin did not actually break her work when her mother-in-law was in need of care, the above testimony clearly shows how much she had suffered from the traditional ideology of gender differentiated roles. Furthermore, her case suggests that once a woman gets married, she cannot always make decision in her own interests. She is expected to be considerate of others' interests first including her husband and children, and has to seek her parents-in-law's understanding as well. It had to be justified as being for her family's sake, not as being for her own, when a woman decided whether to work or not to work. Otherwise, she could not be free from being called 'a selfish woman'.

Another interesting account in relation to marriage issues is the impact of the husband on the woman's employment. Although her husband did not make Lim stop work, for instance, it did affect the place where she lives and works. While there was no case where husbands stopped their careers or moved to other cities for their wives' work or study, the opposite cases where wives did so for their husbands were not rare among mothers I interviewed. Furthermore, three mothers in my study said that they had to

stay at home after marriage since their husband did not like their working, and in some cases, husbands regulated the type of women's job as well. Most accounts of husband's influence on women's working lives acknowledged the Confucian view of women that women have to be obedient and practice the virtue of submission. As I discussed in chapter 3, the obedience of women was absolute to her father in childhood, to her husband in marriage and to her son in old age. The next mother's employment history approves that this traditional view of women remains in current Korean society.

"My job has been changed quite often...before having Hong (her first son), three times? I think. [Could you tell me more about your jobs?] The first one was...I worked at a church. Working condition was quite good because it finished at 5 O'clock. But because I had to stay till late when there was a service at night, my father didn't like it. "No, it's not good for woman" he said. At last, I was dragged out of the church by my father. Being dragged out.... Then I worked at a shoe company as a clerical assistant. The salary was O.K. no problem at all. But I wanted to be an Aerobic instructor. I have finished training course and worked as an assistant instructor. But I was not able to do it more than six months... it was very hard and most of all, my husband disliked the job. My husband is quite conservative, he doesn't look like conservative but you know.... Especially the costume of Aerobics is little bit sexy (like swimsuit) so he did not like it. Thus I could not do any more. " (Chayeon, 26, clerk, married)

Of course, not all mothers put aside their own desire in order to fulfil others' wills or needs. In chapter seven, we meet a woman who successfully kept her career despite strong opposition from her parents-in-law. However, we can equally find that she instead pays for the cost of insisting on her own benefit by playing a multitudinous role and also being overwhelmed by 'superwoman syndrome'. Ultimately, it can be argued that a married woman cannot be entirely free from the conventional role which society has given to her.

5.4 Return to work: resources and strategies for childcare

Although mothers in this chapter share the same employment pattern which they have adopted as the response to their motherhood, they differ from each other in arranging alternative childcare when they got back to work. Their differences are largely driven by the resources that they could mobilise.

Main forms of childcare

Eunhey is a thirty-four year old sewing worker, who has no more than middle school education. She and her husband, a manufacturing worker, have two children aged eight and four. When I asked her childcare arrangement, Eunhey said,

"*When my first child was 7 months old, I sent her to an Arineejip near my workplace. After several months we moved this road and began to use this Arineejip. When my second was born.... It's pretty much the same....I stayed home with him for 7 months and then sent him to this Arineejip.*" *(Eunhey)*

Eunhey described her childcare history shortly and simply without any other explanations or justifications. She did not feel any necessity to say more about her childcare arrangement. This reflects that she has no other option but to use the childcare centre. As she said, whenever she had a baby, she was out of the labour market and stayed at home with her child. When she returned to work, she had arrangements with an *Arineejip* near by.

With no doubt, it is difficult for any mother to leave her child with someone else in an unfamiliar environment. However for these working-class mothers neither their familial resources nor financial enabled them to negotiate other alternatives for carrying on with both work and motherhood. As Eunhey as well as Soony (in the first section) has shown, therefore, the combination of ceasing work and using the *Arineejip* appears as the most popular strategy adopted by working-class mothers in my study.

However, the middle-class arrangement is somewhat different. Home-based (not centre-based) and individual (one-to-one) types of childcare are likely to be arranged during the years after 'mother care' and before arranging 'collective childcare'. For instance, Yuna and Young were able to leave their children at home with an individual carer until their children were ready to go to childcare centres. As we already have seen, Yuna employed a nanny for her second child. Also she could arrange a quality home-based care for her first-child when she got back to work. In the case of Young, familial resources played the most significant role until she enrolled her children to one of the well-known kindergartens in Seoul at the age of five. Young's narrative below

highlights middle-class mothers' ability to keep their child at home as long as they want.

"I tried several times to send my son (younger child) to childcare centres when he was four. I already paid a monthly fee as well as entrance fee, but he went there just for one week. That's all. I have tried another centre, but he did the same... Then I realised he wanted to be at home. He was not ready to go yet. He is just like me. We are not very sociable. We don't like to meet and talk with others very much. I could understand him well. I let him stay home until he became five." (Young)

In comparison with middle-class mothers, it is obvious that working-class mothers have not many options to negotiate. However, it is noteworthy that they did not simply choose the one which is the cheapest and the nearest. Like most mothers across occupations and classes, they also put some effort to search the most appropriate (even if not the best) one for their children among limited options, firstly by visiting every childcare centre in commutable distance and secondly by seeking comments and information from other mothers at work or in the neighbourhood.

"I visited all the childcare centres around here without missing any, and decided on this Arineejip. Firstly, this is cheap, and relatively spacious. Of course, there were bigger ones in several blocks distance, but among the nearest ones this centre was the biggest and I liked the atmosphere of this centre. Most of the childcare centres are in an office building, but this is a house with a small yard and sand...In addition, teachers were so kind to the children. They are like real aunties" (Chayeon)

"Since my husband works for a trade union, he had a broad relationship with other people. And one of his colleagues recommended this centre to him. I did not think about other childcare centres and I felt I could believe the carers in this centre. It's like home and they prepare the meals by themselves (not arrange other catering service)."(Sowon)

The above narratives are particularly interesting as they show mothers' criteria for selecting a childcare centre. As it is mentioned, they take into consideration the locations, the size of space and the meals provided are in their consideration of adoption or rejection. However, the most significant aspect is reflected in the following terms that they expressed; 'like aunties' in Chayoen's testimony and 'like home' from Sowon's. Remembering the mothers' preference for kin or home environment at least until their children become three years old, it is not surprising that these mothers were

trying to find and expect a home-like and a family-like atmosphere even from the centre-based collective care.

Another noteworthy point from Sowon's testimony above is her husband's contribution to arranging alternative childcare. In most cases, the main source of information on alternative childcare is largely from the mothers' network. Furthermore, the whole process of arranging childcare from gathering information on childcare alternatives to subsequently monitoring them is ultimately the mothers' responsibility since it is after all the process of finding the substitute for mothers (not fathers). However, Sowon shows that the husbands' networks might be important in finding alternative childcare, and also indicates the possibility of men's contribution to arranging an alternative childcare to some extent.

The combination of mother care by ceasing work and using a 'cheap, collective and centre-based' childcare without any other arrangement in between them is the typical pattern of childcare among working-class mothers in my study, whilst middle-class mothers are more likely to have an individual and/or home-based care which is between 'mother care' and 'childcare centres'. However, the difference between middle-class and working-class mothers does not emerge only in their regular childcare arrangements. In their emergency and supplementary care, these two groups also diverge. Let us go back to Chung's case.

Backup care

After staying at home as a full-time mother for more than two years, Chung decided to go back to work, but not to the same occupation. According to her explanation, her previous job as a childcare worker is not an ideal one for mothers with young children. As everywhere, a caring job is highly intensive labour but poorly paid. In addition, no one likes to employ a woman like Chung with seven years career experience. The employers in Korea prefer young single women so they can pay less. As a consequence, Chung searched for other jobs and became a home-visiting tutor employed by a private education company, arranging a childcare centre for her daughter.

Her new job is relatively flexible in using time and better paid in comparison with her previous job, although this depends on the workers' abilities. However, home-visiting tutors do not seem ideal for mothers with young children either. According to Chung, only three days per week does she finish her work before the childcare centre closes. For the other days, she has to work till late - around 11 or 12 at night. To cover the hours after 7 in the evening, therefore, Chung has had to depend on her parents who live near the childcare centre for collecting and looking after her daughter at night. Even though she has a husband, he cannot participate in any of the caring work. Since he lives in another city for his business, Chung only can see him twice or three times per month.

"My father collects my daughter after his work and brings her to his house. Then my mother looks after her until I come to collect her. This is why I choose an Arineejip near my parents rather than my house. Of course, they are happy to see my daughter but when I get back around 11 or 12 O'clock at night to collect her, my parents' house is messed and they look so exhausted. Since my daughter does not want to sleep until she sees me, they have to play with her, you know. It must be so tiring. I feel sorry for my parents. It's not easy to rely on my parents. But you know, there's no other way... In fact, I'm an unusual case. Most of my colleagues live with either their parents or parents-in-law. Or at least they stay close to them, I mean, they live in the same neighbourhood. Otherwise a woman cannot work. You see, I'm the unusual case....." (Chung)

Managing both work and family seems never to have been possible for Chung without her parents' help. Even though she uses a care centre that opens 12 hours per day, it could not fulfil Chung's need.

As is shown in Chung's case, indeed, most full-time working mothers across the employment pattern in my study frequently reported similar difficulties in their everyday childcare. Not only for filling the gap between the mothers' working hours and the centres' opening time, but also for emergencies, these mothers claim the necessity of supplementary care along with the institutional care.

"When he is ill, no one in the childcare centre can take him to hospital. In my case, I and my husband are working far from home. Thus there should be someone close to him for emergency. Of course my

mother-in-law is working near the childcare centre. But you know, I cannot always ask her to take time off work for my son." (Rangee, 29, bank officer, married)

Especially among middle-class mothers, therefore, it is not difficult to find cases that have combined using a childcare centre and individual carers such as nannies or grandmothers. As we have seen, for instance, Young, a typical middle-class mother, gets assistance from her parents who live in the same house for taking her first child to and from the school and for taking care of the children in the afternoon. Furthermore, as we move onto other employment patterns, this is more clearly revealed.

Working-class mothers in this employment pattern rarely have supplementary care. Apart from the childcare centre, there is no-one to rely on in emergencies or the outside centre-hours. Under this circumstance, then husband's participation seems particularly significant for these working-class mothers' everyday lives. How far do husbands contribute to childcare and other domestic work?

Sharing within a household: husband and children

In comparison with mothers with more resources for childcare, these working-class mothers are likely to report that their husbands contribute to the care of the children to some extent. As is mentioned before, Sowon's husband played an important role in the process of finding an alternative childcare centre. Furthermore, he usually took the child to the *Arineejip* in the morning until Sowon had another break due to having her second child. Similar to Sowon, Eunhey also evaluated her husband as a helpful man. According to her, for instance, her husband helps his daughters with homework and gives them a bath and prepares dinner for them when Eunhey works overtime at night. In addition he usually collects them from the childcare centre on his way home. In these cases, the husband's presence helped rather than hindered these working mothers.

However, it is noteworthy that most activities their husbands performed are rather irregular and conditional. The condition is 'when mothers are not there.' And this indicates that the primary responsibility comes to mothers first, while fathers are the

final solution if other (female) resources are not available. The following testimonies on emergency care show this more clearly.

"Once my son had chicken pox that made it so difficult for me, I could not sleep at all and I could not send him to the childcare centre. I was able to have one or two days off but not any more. Thus I took him to my work place for one day and asked my elder sister another day. She lived too far from my house and she has a job as well, so I could not ask her any more. Thus at last I asked my husband for the rest of the days. Instead of going to work in the morning, he worked at night for about two days. After my son, my daughter caught chicken pox as well. But since my mother came back from a trip, she looked after my daughter." (Chayeon)

"If my kids were ill, I took time off for bringing them to hospital. But if I was not able to be out of work, then it goes to my husband, though his daily earning is bigger than mine. Several times I took them to work, but it was not a good idea at all. It's bad for children due to dust from fabrics. Furthermore, they constantly interrupt me..." (Eunhey)

Facing an emergency, either taking time off work or bringing their sick child to the work place is the most popular response for these mothers. If they have someone else within or outside the extended family, they might ask them. However, the husband would hardly be considered as the first option. As Eunhey correctly pointed, this is primarily due to the loss of income to them when their husbands take a day off.

Some mothers including Sowon or Eunhey admitted their husbands' contribution to childcare and domestic work, even though it was often irregular and conditional. However, Soony was not providing a similar story as the above mothers. When I met Soony, she was using three different institutions for her three children during daytime; a primary school for her seven year old daughter and two different childcare centres for her five and two year old daughters. Since the centre she has used for her two younger children does not provide care for children aged 5 or more, Soony's second child was moved to another childcare centre. I was wondering how she collects three children from three different institutions.

"My first daughter collects my second on her way home and I collect my youngest after seven o'clock. My big girl is going to a Gongbubang (corresponding study room which provides homework supervision for primary school children) after school, and does her homework there. When its shuttle bus takes her

to my second child's Arineejip, she collects her sister, having their teas at home and waiting for me." (Soony)

Unlike Eunhey or Sowon, husband's participation cannot be found in the above Soony's narrative. When I asked whether she discusses with her husband about children related matters, Soony said:

"*Discussion? No way! I do all things on my own. For example, I just told him I decided to send my kids to this centre and he said 'O.K'....That's it! No discussions at all... I think all men are the same. One (man) out of hundred or out of a thousand may discuss with their wife (on children related matters), but majorities are not, I think. They are not interested in those trifles. (How do you feel about that?) If I'm sure that I can get some help from him, I try to change him. But I don't think I can. He does not think it's his business. He concerns about only his work outside home. And, men usually work till late and they have their lives after work. I hardly can see him. You see, he comes back after midnight or at 2 o'clock sometimes and when I'm going out for work early in the morning, he is still in bed. Even on Sunday he goes to work. So, what can I expect from him? We talk on the phone if he has something to say..... I just hope he does his work well."(Soony)*

As is shown in the above testimony, her husband is virtually absent in everyday family life. Considering a repeatedly raised theme by mothers in my study, i.e. 'how difficult to survive as working mothers without someone's help', bringing up three children using only childcare centres without husband's contribution, seems never to have been easy for Soony. She often had to work overtime leaving her three children at home unattended. Even in an emergency such as children's sickness, Soony has no one she could rely on except herself. What the ideal role of mother is or what is the best for her children or for herself were not important issues for Soony. In order to survive as a working mother with three children, the only concern of hers is how she can carry both work and children.

"*I could not give priority to a certain thing.... I just.... I should do all... as a mother, as a worker and as a wife and a daughter-in-law....I could not give up any of these... I could not stop working for the children, I could not give up my family for my work... I just have to carry them all. I've never received any help from my families. No one is considerate of me. Of course my mother always felt sorry for me but that's it. I had to survive by myself. (How do you feel about it? Taking care of three kids must be so hard.) . Bringing up children in our society is so hard indeed, but I don't think it's because I have many kids. I'm a professional in doing housework, I should say. I did it since I was 6 years old. Housework is*

really nothing to me. And my first and second kids help me a lot. As I told you the first one took care of the second, and the second and the first play with the youngest. And they help me cleaning and laundering. Since they know their father did not help me at all, they felt they had to help me instead, I think."(Soony)

In the above testimony, Soony highlights two of rather unusual resources that enable her to manage both work and motherhood in her current life. As the eldest daughter in a working-class family, firstly, she was involved in housework since she was a pre-school child, and it provides her with a professionalised skill for managing her household with three children. Secondly and perhaps more importantly, her two older daughters share a large proportion of the housework and caring for their youngest sister. Though they are still young needing their mother's care, they are, in turn, an important resource, which enables Soony to combine work and motherhood. As we have seen in the very first testimony of Soony's, the eldest collects her sister and prepares dinner for her. Leaving children alone or using older siblings for younger children are not popular as main childcare arrangements in Korea anymore, however Soony's case shows that still children - mainly girls - can be mobilised where other adults are not available.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter examines mothers who shared the experience of taking breaks as one of reconciliation strategy to combine work and care. Even though mothers presented here shared common employment patterns, close examination of the mothers' reconciliation process showed that the main impetus which led them to the same outcome differed from one mother to another, and both external and internal constraints are intertwined in this decision making process. This chapter also provides deeper implications of the typical woman's employment pattern in Korea. As was expected, practicing their motherhood - bearing, caring and educating children - was the most significant interruption factor for women's employment. In particular, the findings from my interviews highlight the mothers' concern about their children's schooling and their educational needs. As a consequence, motherhood does not lose significance as a determinant of withdrawal from the labour market even after their children become old

enough to care themselves. However, my study also emphasises that it is not only motherhood but also womanhood that leads women out of the labour market. Especially married-womanhood itself is the constraint in relation to employment as they are expected to perform their primary role as family carers who are always ready to put others' interest first such as husbands and in-laws as well as children. In keeping with this traditional view of womanhood, therefore, it is not easy for married women to avoid discontinuity in their working life.

Along with discontinuity of employment as one of reconciliation strategies, this chapter also looked at the pattern of childcare arrangement after the women return to work. The childcare arrangements after the breaks were different from each other mainly according to the resources available. For working-class mothers with a lack of resources, centre-based collective childcare (*Arineejip*) is regarded as the only available and affordable way to combine work and motherhood. In most (if not all) cases, therefore, a typical pattern of childcare consists of two stages i.e. mother care followed by collective care. While working-class mothers with a lack of resources are likely to move onto childcare centres directly from their own care, middle-class mothers tend to arrange individual care such as nannies or family members between looking after them themselves and sending them to a childcare centre. Furthermore, in their supplementary care, the latter have someone to help them collecting children and caring for emergencies even after they have enrolled their children to a childcare centre, while the working-class mothers have no one they can rely on. As a consequence, husband participation in childcare is particularly important to these working-class mothers. In some cases, in fact, it is admitted that their husbands helped rather than hindered. However, it is also true that even where husband's contributions can be found, it, in most cases, is far smaller than mother's contributions. In particular, husband's participation in childcare is likely to be observed where other females inside or outside the family is not available.

Chapter 6

Constructing Motherhood II: Changing time, Changing place

In the previous chapter, I looked at the group of mothers who decided to be out of work when they faced conflicts between work and family. Instead of carrying on with both work and family, those mothers distributed their commitment to one or the other over the life span. By focusing on this typical pattern of female employment, however, one has lost sight of the question: what other employment patterns are adopted by working mothers in Korea? Although it cannot be denied that taking breaks is still the most popular strategy adopted by working mothers in Korea, not all mothers chose the same strategy facing their motherhood. Some of the women were able to be workers as well as to be mothers by bringing about some changes in their employment. Some reduced their working hours so as to achieve flexibility for performing motherhood. Some changed their place of work from the office to their home, so as to achieve autonomy over when and how they spent their time. This chapter focuses on those mothers who brought such changes to their employment. Nine were working part-time when I interviewed them, and four mothers had the experience of working from home. However it is important to note that the mothers did not choose only one employment strategy during their motherhood. As the family needs changed, the economy worsened, or the unforeseen occurred, they adopted several different types of employment during their motherhood. In fact, most mothers in this work pattern had had some experience of ceasing working in the past. Furthermore, one mother had experienced all the possible types of employment including ceasing work, part-time work and working from home. As a consequence mothers in the previous work pattern may appear in this chapter again.

6.1 Changing time: voluntary part-time workers

Part-time work is often portrayed as an ideal option for combining employment and motherhood. For coupled mothers who have a primary breadwinner in their household, working part-time fulfils many of their needs. According to Korean national statistics, however, only 14 per cent of total female workers were working part-time (i.e. 35 or fewer hours per week) in 1999 (KNSO, 2000). Compared with other countries, the proportion of part-timers is far behind in Korea. Of course, in most cases, working part-time might not fulfil their economic needs. In addition, since increases of salary, promotions, and interesting assignments are often reserved for full-time employees, some women may not want to cut back on their hours of work. But most of all, it is often not an available option for many women in Korea who might desire part-time work, because it is not offered in their places of employment. Excepting a few industries such as social/personal service sectors, part-time work for women is relatively less available in Korean labour market than in other countries. Although flexibility in working hours and various types of employment have been developed after the economic crisis in the late 1990s (Kim, T-H., 1999), Korea still has the lowest percentage of part-time jobs among OECD countries (table 6.1). Therefore, reducing working hours is a rather limited option for working mothers in Korea.

Table 6.1 Composition Ratio of Part-time Employment in 2003

In per cent

	Korea	Japan	UK	France	USA	Sweden
Part-time work as a proportion of total employment	7.7	26.0	23.3	12.9	13.2	14.1
Women's share in part-time employment	59.4	66.7	77.3	80.0	68.8	70.8
Part-time work as a proportion of female employment	11.2	42.2	40.1	22.8	18.8	20.6

Source: OECD (2004) *Employment Outlook.*
Note: Except Korea, part-time is defined as working less than 30 hours per week. Only Korean data shows part-time as working 35 hours or less.

Yet here we have nine mothers who were working part-time when I interviewed them.[1] All but one mother in this work pattern was working in the social and personal service industry, including teaching, catering and domestic services. Such jobs are where the female part-timers are highly concentrated (Kim, K-A., 1994; KNSO, 2001a), and are generally inferior to comparable full-time jobs in terms of hourly rates of pay, job security, and employment conditions. Some of the mothers in my study chose part-time work as a result of reconciliation between work and motherhood, while some were not doing so by choice. We begin with voluntary part-time working mothers.

Seran

Seran is a thirty-four-year-old part-time lecturer who is married and has two children aged six and two. When I met her, she was expecting another baby. The interview was carried out at a restaurant near her working place on a weekday morning. She usually stays at her office from half past ten to four but she has great flexibility in using time since she teaches only a few hours a week. Seran explained her decision to work part-time mainly because of her first son's schooling and her third pregnancy.

"Because I was so anxious about my son's schooling at the beginning (March 2000), I did not work actively. Although I have an office in a university, I hardly went there. Helping him to adapt himself to his new school life is important I thought. I looked after him because I did not know where he could go after school. I had to prepare his lunch and be at home in the afternoon with him. Thankfully, school provided lunch several months later and I found an after-school care centre near my house. But, now you see, I have a third one ... which is quite by chance (laughing).. but anyway, I have to look after myself as well. In fact, I haven't started my career yet. I haven't really."(Seran)

Her children's needs and her unfinished reproduction prevented Seran from working longer hours. However she did not complain about her current situation. Rather, she told me that she always tried to work it out within her given situation, and the given situation for Seran means her children and their need for a mother. Although she is working as a lecturer, she does not identify herself as a career woman. She said that

[1] There were four other mothers in my study, who had experience of part-time work as a teacher or a lecturer while they were in further education. Since their main status was a full-time student and their part-time work was additional on top of their study, these four mothers are not counted as part-time workers.

she hasn't started her career yet. For Seran, part-time work is neither a main source of income nor that of her identity, but it is the route which enables her to keep in touch with the labour market during her child-rearing period. Whatever the main function of part-time work for her, it is clear that she has chosen a certain amount of time for work as a result of a compromise between motherhood and work.

In Seran's case, it is noteworthy that part-time work is not the only strategy that she adopted in order to combine work and family. Like most of the mothers in my study, she has the experience of having had a career break for caring for her children by herself. Therefore, part-time work would be considered as only part of their 'work and motherhood' strategy.

Familial resources are another element of Seran's strategies for combining work and motherhood. Seran had relied throughout her motherhood on her mother who lives in another province. When she was a full-time PhD. student, for instance, her mother provided Seran's first child with 24 hour care for five years. Now Seran brings her first child home in Seoul for his schooling, while her mother takes 24 hours care of the second child. In addition, Seran told me that her mother would look after her third child when it is born. In fact, Seran is the one who has relied on a family member as the main childcare provider for the longest period among the participants of my study. Except for one and half years when Seran was a full-time housewife, caring for her children has always been shared between Seran and her mother.

Seran's husband, a judge of a district court, never appears in her story of bearing, caring for and educating her children. Even in the process of planning to have a child, interestingly, her husband seems to have been absent. As is in the following testimony, Seran made a plan for having children, discussing it with her mother and not with her husband.

"Because I just began my PhD. at that time, I did not want to have a child until I settled down. But my mother thought I'd better have a child as soon as possible, because the older I am, the more difficult to have a baby. She said 'Have a baby first and let's see what we can do (about childcare).' So I decided to follow my mother's advice. I gave birth and stayed at my mother's for recovery and when I got back to study, she said 'leave your child here.' "(Seran)

The above testimony, of course, highlights the importance of securing a childcare provider for working mothers. However, what concerns us here is where her husband is.

"My husband? I could not say he is a supportive man. He is a kind of noninterventionist. He doesn't care about children or family things. Of course sometimes he looks after the children while I'm out for a short time, but no more than that. [What do you think about it?] Um, at the beginning of our marriage, we had a quarrel. While I was preparing supper, he always reads a newspaper instead of helping me. I was getting angry and had arguments with him. But he did not understand me at all. Since he dreamed a family life where sweet wife always serves everything for him and home should be where he can take rest. We had different expectation towards each other.... It does not take long until I realised he wouldn't be changed... Now I just leave him to have rest at home. I don't ask him to do some work at home. When I'm too tired to do housework, I just leave it until I feel better. It's just natural as I'm used to it" (Seran)

Standing firmly on the ideology of gender division of labour, Seran's husband does not accept that family and child related matters are his own responsibility. He sees himself as a care receiver who is being served and being cared for. Only when Seran – the main caregiver of his family – is not available, does he perform the role as a care provider for their children. Though she plans to increase her working hours as her children grow up, her husband is not included in her future strategy for combining work and care. Rather, Seran said 'I'm going to ask my parents-in-law to live with us.' There seems not much possibility of any changes in the gendered domestic responsibility of Seran's family.

Similar to the 'taking breaks' strategy, reducing working hours is likely to be adopted as a temporary solution for the child rearing period. As Seran has told, most mothers with part-time work actually plan to move on to longer hours of work or become regular workers as their children's need for a mother is decreases. For Hayoung, however, this strategy seems a definitive one.

Hayoung

Hayoung is a thirty-five-year-old, middle-level manager working for her father's company. She and her husband, a vice president of a small-sized company, have two children aged eight and six. I interviewed Hayoung in the kitchen of her three-bed room flat just after her evening meal on a weekday. Her husband was not home yet and the two sons were playing in the living room. Despite her working part-time, it was equally difficult to arrange time for interviewing her as many other full-time workers in my study. During the interview, Hayoung told her children what to do from time to time.

Hayoung worked full-time from 8:30 to 18:00 until her first child was born. After two months maternity leave, however, she reduced her working hours from ten to four. According to her explanation, because her nanny (non-residential) wanted to work from nine to five, she had to go out for work after nine and come back before five. She explained that her nanny was very good at caring for children, thus she did not want to lose her. Although there were no part-time workers in her company, Hayoung was able to get reduced working hours simply by asking her father, her employer. Reducing working hours, however, did not mean a reduced workload in the office, but more intensive work for her.

"It was quite hard, at the beginning I think. What made it difficult for me was that there had no time to go to toilet really. Because, I had to do the same amount (of work) within a shorter time, I had to hurry, even during the lunch time, I had to be back to work quickly. I think it took me 2-3 years to reduce and rearrange work according to my time schedule."(Hayoung)

Furthermore, after her first son became a primary school pupil, she found working six hours per day was too much burden for her to combine it with motherhood. As is in the following narrative, Hayoung saw her first son's increased need for mother in relation to his school life. And again, she got further flexibility in her time at work although the working hours did not change.

"How many times I thought (quit job)... Countless indeed. But I've always thought, 'Well, after one year it might be O.K.', and it was. But the most difficult time for me was when my first child entered the primary school. Getting help from others for caring is not that much problem. But having a primary school child is certainly a big problem. There are so many things which mother and child have to do together. No one else I can rely on for supervising his homework, accompanying him to various school events. You see, grandmother cannot help his homework. Neither can nanny. If I cannot help my son properly, it is obvious that he must have some difficulties in his school life. No wonder many mothers stop their work when their child goes to primary school... In fact, I told my father, I could not work anymore. But he did not accept but gave me further flexibility. So I can attend occasional events related to my two kids now...." (Hayoung)

Indeed, Hayoung is involved in her two children's various activities no less than other mothers who stay at home. Various school events, such as fairs, seasonal outings and sports days of her two children are what she is required to attend. Furthermore, as most mothers in my study, she also comes to school to serve school meals for a class as well as sweeping the class room clean once or twice per month (serving school meals is what most mothers are expected to do. Even working mothers are not exceptional. If mothers cannot come, they should arrange someone to replace them even through paying for a third person). Weekends are even busier than weekdays for Hayoung. For instance, she told me that all weekends in the coming month were already booked for the children's outings and birthday parties. In addition to those special occasions, her two children are usually going to several extracurricular activities, such as football, art and science classes. Thus she always has to be available for taking children to and from these activities during weekends.

Hayoung's children are older than Seran's, hence it might be assumed that Hayoung is able to get back to a full-time work schedule. However, she claims that her struggle over work and children could not be finished even after her children became over 6. As it constantly emerges, this is mainly because helping children to learn and to achieve good scores at school becomes the core of motherhood. However, numbers of school programmes and social gatherings for children also make requests for mothers' help and participation. In order to accommodate herself to these various requests from her two children, Hayoung twice gained flexibility at work. However, reducing her commitment to work seems still not enough.

"Because school finishes at 1 o'clock, there should be someone who takes him home from the school. So I employ a helper. She takes my son home after school, and prepares some refreshments and lets him do homework. Then she goes home after bringing my son to his English class and I take him from the class at around 4 o'clock on my way home...." (Hayoung)

The outside school-hours as well as vacations are another ambush working mothers have to fight with. Parents must either be available themselves for outside school hours for the children over six, or must find someone else to replace them.

Similar to Seran, Hayoung's husband is almost absent in her everyday life which is tightly woven with work and motherhood. Even in providing transport to children for school and kindergarten, Hayoung shared the job with her neighbour.

"One of my neighbours sends her two children to the same institutions. Thus we share collecting. In the morning I give a lift to her children with my child. In the afternoon, she collects my younger son from the kindergarten. During the term time, it works, but for the vacation, I need a helper for all day."(Hayoung)

When she was asked about her husband participation in childcare or housework, Hayoung said,

"Never! Never he does! He once or twice maybe went to the kindergarten of my children so far, but that's all.... Um... well recently he took my first child to school on Saturday morning several times recently. Since he had something to apologise to me, I asked him to do so. You see, he does some housework or childcare only when he did something wrong to me (with a sound of laughter). I think he is a lucky man indeed. Although I'm working and hence he has to distribute his time to family matters to some degree, things never been like that. He could be excused from such things since there's always someone who helps me instead of him, such as a nanny at the beginning and then a visiting housekeeper, babysitters, and my mother for emergency. He did not have to help me, you see? Well, in fact, he has no time to do such things. Nowadays, he comes back home far after midnight. Indeed we hardly have time to talk recently. "(Hayoung)

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the occasional and conditional participation of husbands is also found. What does she think about the unequal share? Hayoung answers;

"I try not to complain about it, because I know he won't be changed. For the last 10 years, I have tried, but it's useless. As I told you, he has no time and his mother brought up him in such a way. After all, I found having discontentment just makes me feel distressed and unhappy. No more than that. So I decided not to care about his participation as long as he brings enough money for employing a nanny or housekeeper. I have no discontent at all. " (Hayoung)

As is shown in Seran's case, Hayoung admits her husband's non-contribution to child related work as well as to other domestic labour, blaming long hours of work and the way he was socialised in his childhood. Instead of trying to urge their husbands to participate in parenting work, they seek help from outside their household; their mothers or buying a third person.

With help from other women for childcare, Seran and Hayoung use part-time employment as part of their work and motherhood strategies. They both wanted to have flexibility in their work schedule in order to practise their motherhood and they were able to achieve it. Their ability to work part-time is based on the resources they can mobilise. These resources include family income, human capital, employment status and family support. These mothers are particularly in a position of strength by virtue of having high education and having husbands who provide additional income. Particularly, their husbands have high positions in the occupational hierarchy as a judge and a vice president in a company. Furthermore, Seran was able to get help from her parents for childcare, while Hayoung secured her work position in her father's company. Therefore, these two mothers actually chose among other options according to what, they think, a good mother is and does, and what their children need.

6.2 Changing time: Involuntary part-time workers

While the above voluntary part-time working mothers claimed that they decided to work for reduced hours as a reconciliation of work and motherhood, working part-time was not always seen as a deliberate choice among other options. Particularly for those mothers who have a lack of resources in terms of familial support and their human capital, it is clear that working part-time was the only way of combining work with their motherhood. Among forty-nine mothers I interviewed, five mothers who were all

lone mothers, were working part-time involuntarily as domestic service workers or waitresses/cleaners. As they had lost their husbands' financial support due to death, divorce or separation, they were compelled to participate in money-making activities even when they did not really want to be workers. But because they had been out of the labour market at least for the first several years after getting married, and had poor educational backgrounds, becoming a part-time domestic or catering service worker was the only way of doing work. For these mothers, working part-time did not meet their economic needs. However, their childcare responsibility prevented them from working more hours.

Jong

Jong is a forty-two-year-old, part-time domestic service worker. She has lived in widowhood for three years and has a four-year-old son. Since her husband did not like her to work, Jong had always been a housewife even though she was a newly qualified hairdresser by the time she got married. Since she had been out of the labour market for a long time, the only job she could find was a *'Pachulbu'* (on-call base work as cleaners, waitresses or domestic service workers) when Jong realised that she had to work after her husband's sudden death. In general, the *'Pachulbu'* makes contracts with several individual employers on weekly basis mainly through informal network. But in the case of beginners, like Jong, they usually get the route for work through an agent by buying a membership. Since Jong has been working as a *'Pachulbu'* only for a year, regular arrangements have not been made yet. She doesn't know how much she can earn today or tomorrow. She just waits for calls from the agency and she has to go wherever she can work. Her employment status was so vulnerable. Jong is a typical case, which clearly reveals women's hidden poverty.

"It is not so long for me to begin this job (Pachulboo). I had not worked at all before. When my husband was alive, I depended on his wage. Now I'm working only when my child is taken care of in a centre. [What are the difficulties?] Because nothing has been fixed yet... It is quite unstable situation right now. Workplace always changes, and if I meet a nice person, that's good. But if not, it's very difficult not only physically but also psychologically." (Jong)

Yoenmi

Yeonmi is another mother who has worked as a part-time *Pachulboo.* She is a thirty-nine-year old, separated mother of three children aged twelve, nine and five. When I interviewed Yoenmi, she lived with her two younger daughters only in a rented room called *Oacktop-bang* (meaning 'a room built on the roof', which is not approved in the blueprint of the building). Her oldest child was in her husband's house where he lives with his second family. Unless her husband provided childcare costs, it was not possible for Yeonmi to look after her three children, she explained.

Compared with Jong, Yeonmi's part-time work seems far more stable. She has already arranged three regular employers and she did not depend on the agent any more. While the loss of her husband (and his income) was not expected at all in the case of Jong, Yeonmi found her husband was unfaithful to her and she could not rely on her husbands' income soon after her marriage. Thus Yeonmi returned to the labour market earlier than she came to the decision of separation. Furthermore, Yeonmi already had experience in the catering service since she was a teenage girl. Although she stopped working when she got married, Yeonmi could find a job easily in a restaurant through her former employer. After she had more children, she was not able to work at a restaurant as a regular full-time worker, and hence she became a part-time domestic service worker.

Chongsoo

Chongsoo, a forty-two-year old part-time waitress with two children aged eleven and six, has lived in lone motherhood since she ran away from her husband 6 years ago. Like most working-class mothers, Chongsoo worked at several manufacturing factories since she was a teenaged girl. When her mother passed away, however, she - the only woman left in her family- had to give up the foreman position, and return to her hometown to be a family caregiver for her father and brothers. She went back to Seoul after three years, but she could not get the same position in the factory she had worked at before.

"Because I was working hard for several years, I became a foreman. But when I came back three years later, no one offered me the same position, you see. I had to restart from the bottom. But I could not accept it. I did not like to do it all over again..." (Chongsoo)

Chongsoo was searching for other jobs, and the only thing she could do was to become a maid. After getting married, Chongsoo could be a full-time housewife as she wished. However, it turned out that married life was not like what she had dreamed. Her husband did not bring money home and was unfaithful to her. Furthermore, she suffered from habitual domestic violence.

"Police officers knew me well, because whenever he beat me I used to run to the police. My husband was well known, you see. They (police officers) often told me 'don't live with him'. But how couldn't I? He would never let me go. Even if he did, no where to live..... One day at the police office, I met a lady, I think she is a civil servant in charge of.. something like, social and welfare...She told me about residential centres for mothers. She said, if my child became a school girl then my husband could easily find me with school records, so I'd better disappear when my children are young.." (Chongsoo)

When her second child was just born, therefore, she finally decided to disappear. For the first four years, Chongsoo and her children stayed at a residential care centre for low-income lone mother's family[2] with the help of the officer. During those days, she started to work at a restaurant. Especially, she opted for the night shift as its hourly wage was higher than working daytime. According to Chongsoo, the night shifts are very hard to come by for most coupled women, because their husband won't let them out at night. Therefore, Chongsoo described it as a kind of privilege given to lone mothers.

When I met Chongsoo, she had not been able to work for several weeks, due to her broken arm. Despite her current disability to work, however, she did not seem discouraged at all. Rather she was the most spirited among the low-income lone mothers I interviewed. Although Chongsoo still had to rely on charity organisations and public assistant for living, her recent experience of getting a two-bedroom flat -

[2] There are 14 residential care centres for lone mother families in South Korea. The main purpose is to help lone mothers to save money and have independent life. While they are staying in the centre, the centre provides a room, living cost and childcare facilities during mothers' work. The maximum period is three years but it can be extended one year once.

even if a council flat - for her family seemed to enhance her feeling of self-control. During the interview, indeed, Chongsoo repeatedly emphasised that her hard working for the last several years enabled her to pay for a deposit on the flat.

Like Jong, Yoenmi and Chongsoo, the other involuntary part-time workers I interviewed were similar to each other in their marital status and their educational background. Those mothers had no more than a middle school education except one with high school, and they were all either separated/divorced or widowed. While their lack of education might be linked to the lack of employment opportunities, the absence of a spouse's financial resources is translated into a greater need to accept the available employment. Thus, these involuntary part-time workers adopted employment strategies from a position of relative weakness unlike the voluntary part-time working mothers I interviewed.

Childcare: Institutional support

As it was in most working-class mothers with a lack of resources, collective childcare seemed the only available and affordable childcare arrangement for these low-income lone mothers. While low-income married mothers could get some reduction for childcare costs according to their income level, all these low-income lone mothers were eligible to get a free place in a childcare centre for their child. Therefore, it is not surprising that these five mothers were using childcare centres in order to participate in money-making activities. As is in the following, they appreciated receiving such benefits.

"You know, there was no option for my daughter (her first child). But now when my second was old enough to use the childcare centre, there were so many Arineejip and kindergartens. My son can receive a good education. Everything is getting better than before.. childcare facilities and subsidies from the government. My son is very lucky." (Chongsoo)

"I have never paid for childcare costs since my second child was five. It's so helpful for me, because I could save money. I really appreciate the centre..." (Yoenmi)

"Arineejip prepared birthday party for my daughter. I did not know it until my daughter brought picture of it. I was almost crying. I think they are better than mother." (Gihey,45,,housework helper, lone mother)

Not only financially but also educationally and emotionally, public childcare provision certainly helps these mothers and their children.

While I interviewed these mothers, nevertheless, the theme of needs for childcare constantly emerged. This is firstly because childcare centres, which accept very young children, are not broadly available. Looking back at Chongsoo and Yoenmi's childcare history, for instance, they had arranged informal carers at some point in their early motherhood. In spite of the high cost of using individual carer, they were compelled to do so due to the lack of childcare provisions for infants. As we have seen in the previous chapter, if mothers had another income source that they could rely on, they usually decided to take a break until their children became old enough to go to the childcare centre. However, lone mothers or self-employed mothers can hardly move out of the labour market for financial reasons. Therefore, as Yoenmi mentioned in the following narrative, even though it cost more than two thirds of their monthly income, they were compelled to arrange an individual care provider until their children become the eligible age to use a childcare centre.

"(Before they separated) My husband did not look after the family. He hardly came home and did not bring money at all. So I had to go out for work. I could send my first daughter to a childcare centre, but there were no facilities, which accept my second child those days. As I remember, there was a private childcare centre for infants, but it was so expensive. Instead I found a childminder through an acquaintance. I went out for work at a restaurant early morning and usually came back home around 11 at night..... it's just so..... I paid her(childminder) more than half of my earning. There was nothing left in my hand... but I still had to work. "(Yoenmi)

Secondly, even though they used collective childcare, these mothers claimed, it was not sufficient for them to move on to work schedule involving longer hours or a regular job. For instance, Yoenmi said,

"Because Dasol (her youngest daughter) is still young, I cannot work as a full-timer. If I were employed at a restaurant as a full-timer, I could be paid monthly (regularly). But in that case, I can have only two

days off work, I mean I have to work 29 days per month. But you know, I cannot work Saturday afternoon, Sunday and national holidays. (Because the childcare centre is closed on those days) Who employs me as a regular worker? No way..., until she (her youngest daughter) is going to primary school, I have no choice." (Yeonmi)

This is also echoed by Jong

"What else can I do? I cannot work for long hours, you see. I have to be back before the childcare centre is closed. I mean I can work only daytime. But mostly (in catering service) you have to work till late and weekend as well. So, I can work only as a part-time Pachulboo (she cannot get a regular job at a restaurant) "(Jong)

Childcare is not a problem for these mothers at least during weekdays from 7:00 to 19:00 and half-day on Saturday. Nevertheless, the above two mothers claimed that they work only part-time as a result of insufficient childcare hours. In most cases, the service hours of childcare centres is designed according to the standard working hours from nine to six. Thus for the mothers who have to work during non-standard hours such as nights or weekends, it is necessary to arrange another care provider for their children, unless they can share the caring with other family members such as husbands or older siblings. Since these involuntary part-time working mothers are all lone mothers, however, their ability to share childcare with other family members is likely to be limited. Furthermore, employing other carer would often cost them more than their earnings. Although 24 hours service is provided in some of the childcare centres, the supply is still too small to meet the needs of caring for most children whose parents have to work out of standard working hours.

Sharing within the family

One of the interesting findings from the childcare history of this group of lone mothers is that no one relied on her family members for childcare even after divorce, separation or her husband's death. The connections between daughters-in-law and parents-in-law may break off when their husbands die or when they get divorced/separated (Chang & Min, 2002). However, even from their original families, none of these low- income lone mothers had received any support for childcare. This is rather surprising as it is

assumed that the original family (parents, brothers and sisters) become a main resource for lone mothers, helping them to overcome their various difficulties after the lone mothers lost their spouses. However, lone mothers in my study were more likely to depend on public support rather than their families and this primarily reflects their family background, in which most members of the family are compelled to go out for work. They hardly have available any family members for childcare or other financial resources to help them. Furthermore, according to the mothers I interviewed, this unexpected result is also explained as their feeling of self-reproach. In a society where lone mothers, particularly those who are divorced, are still stigmatised and shamed (though getting less so), these mothers often see themselves as bringing dishonour on their original family. As Jong said, therefore, they do not feel free to ask for help from their family.

"Although my relatives live not far from where I live, I do not keep in touch with them. Because my child is too young, they might feel I'm a burden." (Jong)

Some avoided asking, but in other cases, the original family was not willing to provide help for their divorced/separated daughter's/ sister's child, even when they were asked. For instance, Chongsoo and Yeonmi said,

"I asked my elder sister to take care of my child, but was refused. She said 'I'm bored with rearing my 4 kids. Why should I look after yours as well. Give them to an orphanage or to your husband.'....." (Chongsoo)

"I have asked my mother (for childcare)... but she did not understand me at all. She said 'why don't you give them (Yoenmi's children) to him (Yoenmi's husband)....' (Yoenmi)

According to the tradition of Confucian ideals, it prescribes a strong parent-son relationship throughout, while responsibility for the daughters ends at the time of their marriage. Once a woman gets married, she belongs to her husband's family. A grandchild is likely to be seen as the responsibility of the husband's extend-family. In fact, in Korea a distinction is made between the grandchildren of one's sons and of one's daughters. The former are called *Sonza* (grandsons), *or Sonnye* (granddaughters), while the latter are called *Wai* (corresponding to 'outside'*)-Sonza, Wai-sonnye.*

Evidence from studies on childcare arrangements (Lee, J-Y. and Kim, M-S., 1990; KWDI, 1997) suggests that such tradition has been weakened as the number of mothers who depend on their original family (not her in-laws) has increased. Furthermore, we also witnessed this trend from mothers in my study especially among middle-class mothers. However, as the above mothers show, this traditional view still prevails in justifying avoiding family obligation towards their daughters and sisters when they became women of other families.

Strategies for surviving with children

Given this lack of family support for lone mothers, institutional support is indeed the only and the most significant component that goes into their strategy to combine work and motherhood. However, as we have seen already, the institutional support is not enough to meet these mothers' need either. Under this circumstance, then how have they actually coped with their dual role up until now?

Firstly, by bringing up their children as being independent, these mothers tried to reduce their children's need for mothers. For instance, Yoenmi emphasised;

" I have let them do everything by themselves. For example, they wash their shoes, I don't do it for them. I don't care even they cannot wash them clean enough. Because I'm busy, I cannot do everything for them. They often say, 'you're like a stepmother.' But even if they say so, I cannot help. I don't help them with homework....I have to take rest for the next day.... " (Yoenmi)

In a similar vein, secondly, they mobilise their older children to share housework and care for the younger children. As we have seen in Soony's case in the previous chapter, for these mothers, indeed, older children are often regarded as the most significant resources for these dual role mothers. For instance, Chongsoo used to go out to work at night, leaving her younger son with his elder sister, at which point she was in year one at primary school. In most cases, the older children often supervise their younger siblings while their mother works.

As we have seen, children's schooling turned out to be one of the important motives to leave the labour market for some of the mothers in my study. These involuntary part-time working mothers did not talk about the importance of mothers' availability and responsibility in relation to their children's educational need. Rather, these three mothers planned to increase their working hours or to get a regular job when their youngest joined the primary school. For these mothers, their children's educational need was not integrated into their motherhood. Rather their motherhood is much concentrated on the earning role, and this reflects their limited situation as the only earner in their family.

So far, we have seen two groups of mothers who were working part-time at the time I interviewed them. Although they have the same employment pattern, these two groups of mothers are distinguished clearly in their motives to work part-time. One group was mainly found among middle-class with various resources, which allowed them to choose reduced working hours as a response towards their motherhood ideology. The other group of part-time working mothers is concentrated among the least educated with little familial resources, but also with no male breadwinner. Therefore, they can hardly work part-time by choice but by constraint.

Flexibility, which can be achieved from reducing working hours, is certainly an advantage most employees would value. For working women with children, however, the flexibility is what allows them to do the work of motherhood. It turns out that the degree of flexibility does not correspond to children's various needs, especially for the lone mothers. Part-time working mothers in my study, as a consequence, are living a life as busy as full-time working mothers do.

6.3 Changing place: working from home

Instead of cutting back their hours of employment, working mothers might change their workplace in order to combine work and motherhood. In other words, they may bring their work home instead of going out to work. It is often argued that the appeal of working at home is based on the perception of autonomy. Controlling their own time,

choosing their own pace and being free from direct supervision are the most attractive aspects of working from home for those who choose it. In particular, it is often regarded as a suitable way of being a worker, for women with family commitments, as it enables women to perform domestic duties along with paid work (Leonard, 2001). Although it is not easy to grasp the accurate figure for workers in the domestic sphere, according to a recent national survey in Korea, people working at home (hereafter referred to as homeworkers) comprised two per cent of total employment in 2000. Out of these, 93 per cent were women (Chang, G-Y., 2001). In addition, largest proportion of them belonged to age group 30-34 years, which had the most likelihood of having pre-school children (Kim, T-Y. and Moon, M-G., 1997; Mun, Y-K., 1998). My own study has four mothers who have experience of being a homeworker. When I interviewed them, one mother said she still worked at home, and the other three worked elsewhere.

Suyeon

Suyeon is the mother who still remained as a homeworker when I interviewed her. She is a thirty-two-year old skilled dressmaker who is married and has two children aged nine and two. She began to work at home when she had her first child. Since she felt she could not trust childcare providers in centres, Suyeon decided to stay and work from home. By the time her first child became thirty-one months old, she needed to go out for work in order to get a qualification for her sewing skills. Although her doubt about trustworthiness of childcare providers had not disappeared yet, there was no alternative way for caring for her children but using a centre. Despite her worry, fortunately, her daughter liked going to the *Arineejip* and hence she could go out for work for three years. When her first child entered kindergarten, however, she decided to bring her work home again.

"I used to go out to work when my child was going to Arineejip. But when she (her first child) entered Kindergarten, I started to work at home. Because kindergarten is usually open half-day only, and I did not want to put her (in the kindergarten) for whole day anyway.... Um, I wanted to go out to work after my second become a bit older. But now I think the younger one is not the problem. I cannot go out for work because of my first daughter. I gave up working outside home. I think I have to stay home and look

after her at least until she becomes a high school student, because there are so many dangerous things if children stay home without any adult. I mean, in case of computers, you have to supervise (when children use the internet). You have to protect your child. So I gave up going out to work. Earning is not so good as that of working outside, but because my child... children come before money, I gave up making money, you see."(Suyeon)

And she went on to say

"Because I'm working at home, I don't have to wake up my youngest too early in the morning, unlike other mothers who have to go out to work. Whenever she wakes up, 9 or 10 in the morning, I take her to Arineejip. I can still work while she sleeps. I can turn the washing machine on while I'm sewing. Things like that. Also I can see my first daughter when she gets back from school and we can have a little chat. That's great. I'm not doing any specific things for my children, but you know just being at home is important to children I think" (Suyeon)

Working at home was deliberately chosen by Suyeon as a strategy to solve the problem of combining work and motherhood. At the very beginning of her motherhood, her lack of confidence about the childcare provider brought her to make the decision to be a homeworker. However, even after she could rely on other institutions for care (for her second child) and education (for her first child), she once again decided to work at home. For Suyeon, working at home satisfies her interests in two ways. Firstly, as she clearly mentioned in her second testimony, it provides her with a certain amount of autonomy: she has less hassle in the morning, and she can do both homework and housework together. Secondly, it enables her to perform a proper role as a mother by being around her children. Especially, she emphasised the mother's role as a supervisor/inspector for ensuring her children's safety. In her view, staying home and being a homeworker is the only way of fulfilling her role as a mother.

Minyoung

Minyoung, one of the mothers with homework experience, also shows a similar perception about her motherhood. Minyoung is a thirty-five year old lone mother with two children who are eight and five. She used to work at an office as a typist until she had her first child. After her maternity break, she brought a typewriter into home in

order to care for her newborn baby. With the rapid spread of personal computers, however, her typewriting skill became non-marketable. After losing her husband, she changed her job several times and ended up working on the street in front of her house with a mobile kiosk selling hot foods. As Suyeon did, Minyoung also chose to work at home when she had her first baby. Now, although her place of work is not inside her home exactly, she is still able to stay around her children and that is the way for her to manage work and motherhood together.

"Because I'm working here, my children always can see me. After school, and before going to other activities... whenever they want to come and see me, they can. My children really like me to work here. Once I have thought to work in other area because I found a good place. I could have earned more money if I had worked there, but what about my children? In fact, I asked to my mother-in-law to live with us and to care for my children. But she didn't like. So, here I am. Anyway, they (her children) will not let me go somewhere else to work. It's very close to my house, and also to school (her first child's) and to Arineejip (her second child's)." (Minyoung)

Compared with mothers in other patterns of work, these two mothers with homework experience particularly emphasised the spatial aspects of motherhood. By bringing their work home or working near home, these mothers are able to be seen by their children, to be around their children, to be accessible and available to them. While the mothers working outside the home constantly emphasised the quality (rather than the amount) of time that they could have with their children, these two mothers did not mention the quality of time or what actually they could provide for her children. Instead, their existence around the children itself - even without any specific activities- was the focal point of their motherhood.

As we have seen in the story of Suyeon and Minyoung, their decision to work at home is closely linked to their childcare responsibility. Furthermore, homework clearly contributes to their perception of motherhood. Even so, another mother shows that childcare issues are not the only reason for choosing homework. Chayeon, a twenty-six year old clerical assistant worker, lost her job when the East Asian economic crisis broke out in 1997. As a married woman with a child, Chayeon had great difficulties finding another job. During her unemployment period, she found herself pregnant. Thus there was no way other than homework. Unlike the above two cases, homework

was not clearly seen as a deliberate choice for Chayoen. Even though one cannot deny that it is still related to her pregnancy and childcare responsibility, she was constrained to accept homework in her situation of unemployment.

In comparison with workers employed outside the home, the working conditions of homeworkers are highly precarious and unfavourable. As Suyeon mentioned, the wage level of homeworkers is lower than working outside even if it is the same work. According to Chang, G-Y. (2001), in 2000 homeworkers' wages in Korea were only 26 per cent of the monthly average wage of regular workers in 2000. In addition, because it is highly labour intensive, to achieve a level of occupational security, the homeworker has to constantly accommodate the demands of home life with the demands of the employer (Kim, T-Y. and Moon, M-G., 1997). The following narrative of Chayeon and Suyeon, shows how difficult it is to combine work at home with children.

"To be frank with you, I did not care him (her son) well. After losing my job, we moved to other area. I had no friends there, and it was winter. So I did not go out often. Mostly I stayed at home. Furthermore, I did 'Booup' (which means secondary or additional work. Homework is regarded as extra work rather than a job), do you know.. um.. socks... .turning them outside in. That's what I did at home. Because I saw my landlady was doing that 'Booup', I did the same work for several months. So you see, I was not able to play with him even at home. For several months, day and night, I turned socks outside in. Then I found my son had changed. He became very sensitive, highly strung, because I ignored him when I was doing Booup. Thus I put down socks and began to play with him. I decide not to do homework anymore"(Chayeon)

"I did 'Booup'. But I think it is not desirable thing to do, when your child is too young. Because I had to work and care at the same time, I was not able to do both well. I could not pay attention to my child fully nor to work. I could not make good money nor take care of my daughter well. Thus when I had my second child I stopped work. I did not work at all until I sent her to Arineejip" (Suyeon)

Suyeon and Chayeon conclude that homework is not an ideal solution for combining work and care, especially for the mothers who have young children. Rather, as Suyeon arranged, it might serve as a supplementary childcare strategy for supervising older children at home rather than as the main alternative way of caring for children.

6.4 Conclusion

So far we have seen those mothers who have changed their employment as a way of combining work and motherhood. As it shown by mothers who have taken career breaks, some mothers in this chapter deliberately chose their employment pattern according to their perception of motherhood and their children's needs, but some did not do so by choice. Especially for the low-income lone mothers, there seemed no options other than working part-time as an irregular worker. In fact, the choice of part-time work as a solution to combine employment and parenting is an option available only to those who can afford to earn less than full-time wage.

While various reasons emerged for the mothers' decisions to stop working in the previous chapter, the reason for changing the time and place in this chapter is mostly converged on their role as mother. Furthermore, voluntary part-time workers and homeworkers have a common view that mothers should be available for helping their children with their school life and for supervising them at home.

While discontinuity, working part-time, or homework are regarded as the main characters of female employment, staying in the labour market over the lifetime has been considered as a typical employment pattern for males. As Esping-Andersen (2002) pointed out, however, 'masculinisation of the female life course' in terms of their lifelong career is now increasingly observed in many places. Although small in number, it should be noticed that there are mothers who have never left the labour market in Korea as well. In the following chapter we can meet them.

Chapter 7
Constructing motherhood III: No changes in their employment

In my study, fourteen mothers had been working full-time throughout their lives without breaks or reducing working hours since they started their work. Neither their marriage nor the arrival of their children had an impact on their work commitment. Although the possible changes in their future cannot be ignored, the fact that these mothers have survived with the work pattern considered as a male normative one, in spite of a significant life event for womanhood such as becoming a married women or a mother, draws out some questions. Without reducing their work commitment, how do these mothers cope with the tension between the demands of work and family life? What kind of resources could/can they mobilise in order to stay in the labour market? Does this lead to significant renegotiations of the traditional motherhood ideology? Focusing on these questions, this chapter closely looks at these fourteen mothers' everyday practice. These mothers are divided into two groups according to their occupations; one for professional and managerial workers, the other for intermediate professional workers.

7.1 Professional and managerial workers

It cannot be denied that more women have been accessing to the higher occupational echelons, such as lawyers, doctors and professors. According to national statistics, however, the proportion of professionals out of the total for female workers was only 12.7 per cent in 1997 (Gang, Y-S, and Shin, K-A., 2001). Considering that the highly feminised occupations such as the nursing and teaching in primary and secondary schools are also included in this percentage, it becomes clear that only a few women have higher occupational position. For instance, the share of female lecturers and professors in universities was only 15.6 per cent in 2000 (KWDI, 2000: 137)

Furthermore, according to the statistics from the Ministry of Labour in 1998, the female proportion of executives (4.3 %), senior managers (2.7%), and team managers (4.8%) in firms with 10 or more employees is even lower, at under 1 per cent where the fifty largest firms in Korea are concerned. As these statistics indicate, indeed, professionals or managerial occupations are highly competitive and usually require long hours at work as well as long years of study or training. Therefore, they have been conventionally a male bastion. Furthermore, even if women successfully access those occupations, they have to fight with discrimination within the profession as in any place of work. For women who have domestic duties as their primary role, therefore, keeping a career in a women-unfriendly environment has never been easy. Among the fourteen mothers who stayed at work, however, we have six mothers who are professional or managerial workers such as university lecturers, medical doctors, senior managers or businesswomen. The following profiles of mothers will show how they have successfully managed both work and family. To pre-empt the main conclusion, these mothers commonly have another woman beside themselves, who performs the traditional role of a mother and a wife, while they devote themselves to their career.

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Familial resources / mother as a finance provider

Lyn is a thirty-five-year-old, associate professor working at a university in the middle part of Korea. Since her husband, a former middle-level manager, is studying Oriental medical science, Lyn has been the primary breadwinner in her family for several years. She and her husband have two sons aged six and four. The younger child is using a childcare centre and her first son is enrolled to a primary school. While I interviewed Lyn in her office on a weekday afternoon, her two children were in the care of their grandmother at home after school and *Arineejip*. According to Lyn, her mother-in-law moved into her house for childcare reason. Lyn began to talk about her story with the following testimony at the very start of the interview.

" After finishing my master course, I got married... well....um, I always thought I had to work. It's my mother's special influence. She always said, 'Daughter has to have a job and son has to do housework'. My mother always asked my brothers, not me, to help with the housework, like shopping and cleaning.

Thus, actually I never thought housework is what I have to do. ..... I never doubt about my work. Having a job is so natural to me. I never thought housework is only women's responsibility, even once." (Lyn)

Lyn was just about to talk about her life since she got married. However, she suddenly changed the topic and pointed out her mother's influence on her ideology of womanhood. Probably, she thought this was the most important aspect for understanding her own life. But at the same time, she was providing her non-traditional ideology of womanhood, as a main impetus for her staying in work. According to her explanation, her mother did not support the traditional gender differentiated role. She often let her children play the 'opposite' gender role. Lyn thought that her mother's degendered education and attitude made her have a strong commitment towards her job rather than towards housework.

However, even though she was encouraged to work by her original family and has a strong desire to work, Lyn, as a married woman, might not be able to keep her career without her husband's and in-laws' understanding and their support with the childcare. Lyn recognised it very well.

"While I was doing my PhD, my mother-in-law took care of my son. Although she lived in the same city (and not too far from her house), my son stayed in her house and I visited them once a week. Because my husband lived in another city for his work and it was better to finish my study as soon as possible, I was given consideration from my in-laws and husband. Thus I only had to do my study..... I told you before about my mother's influence. I always thought I would work even after becoming a mother. And you see, my mother-in-law helped me.. with her all effort, indeed.... In addition, my husband...he supported me as well. He always said 'You have to study, don't worry about housework or children.' Therefore, I was able to concentrate on my study and work"(Lyn)

Lyn pointed out her family support as an important factor that enabled her to stay at work. According to Lyn, firstly, her mother-in-law helped her with 24 hour childcare. Secondly, Lyn has a generous husband who encouraged her to work, instead of forcing traditional gender ideology on her. Based on her interpretation, therefore, it could be argued that the combination of Lyn's strong career commitment and her family support created her current employment pattern. On the one hand, Lyn's non-traditional ideology of womanhood, which was established throughout her childhood, provided the fundamental driving force to allow her to keep working without a break. On the

other hand, her family's support enabled Lyn to realise her ideology in her life. As she unfolded her childcare history, it turned out that her family support was really extensive for Lyn in comparison with other mothers in my study. Here comes her detailed story.

"So, I did not have any difficulties in childcare...But when I had my second child, I had to find another person, since taking care of two children is too much of a burden for my mother-in-law. Thus I sent my second son to my mother's (while her first son was still in her mother-in-law's care) It was not a good situation for me to take care of two children myself, you see, my husband was still in another city.... Those days were.... Childcare was not a problem at all until I became a mother of two children. Those days were the hardest time for me to carry both work and family...becoming a mother of two children, and at the same time I had just started my career (as a lecturer in the university). It was also a difficult time for my mother-in-law and my mother as well. And... I was not able to see them often..... So, I brought them here (the city where she lives), in order to stay close to them. But my children lived at my sister-in-law's (who lived in the same city) this time. I could not take care of them either day or night, since our university has evening classes. Thus, again, I could see them just on weekends but it was better than before.... Anyway, about a year later, my husband moved here. In order to study, he resigned from his job. Thus we all four were able to live together at last. During the daytime, my children went to my sisters-in law's still, but at night we could collect them. Once I tried to send them to a childcare centre, because we felt sorry for my sister-in-law, but it did not work, since I and my husband work at night as well. Thus, my sister (-in-law) brought my two kids up until my mother-in-law finally moved into our house..... Now my mother-in-law lives with us and our family is a lot more stable. Since my husband is still studying, she might feel strongly that she had to help mė. But anyway, as you see, I have a strong family support network." (Lyn)

As Lyn concluded, she has an extensive family support network. Three women from her extended family - mother-in-law, mother, and sister-in-law - provided care for her two children in different places and/or at different times. Even though it seems a very complicated childcare strategy, Lyn was able to solve her childcare problems within her family boundary for the first years of her motherhood, and she still relies on her mother-in-law for housework as well as for caring for her children.

Although Lyn mentioned her husband's support earlier, his actual involvement in the childcare was not so vivid in the above testimony. Mainly, this is because her husband was absent for most of this period due to his work. In addition, the availability of other women might have prevented him from participating in childcare, even when he had

obtained some flexibility in using his time after becoming a student. Lyn's situation was similar to her husband's. By sending her children to relatives, she was free from the caring role of her children in early motherhood. Furthermore, by bringing her mother-in-law into her house, she is still excused from the caring role for her family.

The following testimony shows how Lyn's three-adult-family works together in everyday life. While her mother-in-law performs most of the caring work at home, Lyn and her husband share some roles related to her children's education, and Lyn defines this as the parents' role.

"In fact, it's so hard to keep both work and family. But in my case my mother-in-law does all the housework and caring for the children as well. For the first month (when her mother-in-law moved into her house), we (Lyn and her mother-in-law) prepared meals together. But it did not work, since most of the time I'm out. So she prepares every meal now. When I wake up, my breakfast is ready. And she collects my two kids in the afternoon. ... supervising their homework and preparing the next day for school are also her jobs, thus she is very busy. But there are some roles for us as parents. My husband mainly does the outings with the kids. Taking them out to museums ,for example. That's what my husband mainly does for the children. Choosing books, helping with the homework, making their everyday schedules... those things are my responsibility. After buying a book I just ask my mother-in-law to let the children read....that's how my family works." (Lyn)

Lyn did not have a clear dichotomy between the mother role and father role based on the traditional view. By conceptualising her motherhood within the broad term of parenthood, Lyn shows a mother can be a good parent by providing her children with financial resources. By handing over most of the caring role to her mother-in-law, furthermore, employment does not conflict with her motherhood for Lyn in everyday life.

As we have seen in Lyn's case, one of the most eye-catching similarities among the fourteen mothers who stayed in work is that they were able to mobilise their family members for childcare. Even though there are some variations in duration of using familial care and in the number of people they could mobilise, eleven out of fourteen had some experience of using familial care as the main childcare strategy for combining work and motherhood. As far as the six no-break mothers with professional occupations are concerned, however, the marketisation of family need including

childcare (i.e. employing a nanny or a housework helper) is revealed as another popular option for balancing work with family. Surhee is one of those who could afford a co-resident nanny throughout her eight-years of motherhood.

Financial resources / mother as an organiser and manager

Surhee is a thirty-six-year-old married woman who has two children aged eight and six. She studied abroad for her Masters degree and is working as a senior manager in a foreign cosmetic company. When I interviewed her, Surhee had been working for ten years continuously. I interviewed her in a café near her children's extra curricular activity place on a Saturday morning. Because she usually works until late, she tries to do things with her children on weekends. If she has to work on weekends, she brings her children to her place of work. Otherwise she has no time to be with her children. Furthermore, she believes that showing what she does at work can enhance children's understanding about their mother.

In order to solve the childcare problem, Surhee firstly asked her mother-in-law for help. However, she was refused because her mother-in-law did not want to do it. As a second choice, therefore, Surhee decided to employ a co-resident nanny for her child. Through an organisation for children's welfare, Surhee found a middle-aged woman who had childcare experience, but no family that she had to provide care for or rely on. About two years later, Surhee enrolled her first son in a childcare centre but the nanny stayed to care for Surhee's second child. Although she was not successful in mobilising family members, Surhee could afford a co-resident nanny over the years. Her position as a middle-level manager as well as her husband's income gave her financial resources to use the most expensive form of care for her children. When I interviewed her, she still had her nanny living with her family even though her two children were already enrolled in primary school or kindergarten. She explained why she still lived together with the nanny.

"*They have to fulfil their emotional needs. The best person (for fulfilling their emotional needs) is their own mother...particularly young mother.... But you see. I cannot... I have to work. Of course I'm trying to do my best for my children. But I don't know how they feel... Anyway, I don't think their emotional*

needs could be satisfied in a kindergarten. Of course they like their teachers very much. But do they really feel free as they do at home? I don't think so... Although I'm not always available, there is granny (she referred to the co-resident nanny as 'granny') for my children. My children really like her and she gives love to them, I know. They want to sleep in her room and it is also granny that they want when they feel bad. Even when she is quite old and hence she needs assistance more or less, I will let her stay at my house until she dies. I would like to employ another person for helping her if it is necessary. She is very important to my children, like a mother. If so, what could be a problem?" (Surhee)

Compared with other employment patterns, those who stayed in work have always had a lack of time with their children. For these mothers, hence, the alternative carer is not seen only as a provider of care itself. As Surhee emphasised, these mothers need someone who represents themselves and who can make a strong bond with the children instead of their own mother. This partly explains why family members are the preferable option for childcare in many cases, and also why Surhee still lives with her children's nanny even though the nanny was old and weak. She clearly sees that a strong emotional bond between the nanny and her children was already established, and that is what she thinks her children need. For Surhee, the nanny is not seen as one of her employees any more, but as one of her family members.

Even though Surhee might be able to fulfil her children's emotional need by replacing herself with another woman at home, her children's educational needs still seem to weigh on her mind. She expressed her anxiety about her children's education.

"I feel uneasy. Whenever I hear about full-time mothers, what they do for their children, I become extremely anxious about my kids. Certainly they (full-time mothers) can do a lot more than I do and they are better than I as mothers.... They are specialists in education..." (Surhee)

Despite her anxiety about her children's education, however, Surhee did not consider ceasing work as a possible option. Surhee justifies her decision to stay in work with her strong commitment towards her career.

"There are some mothers who cannot give up work. I'm one of them. I love my job. I can't imagine not working. Because I have put so much effort in in order to keep my career, I don't want to think about stop working. I will never stop. Of course, I cannot give up my children. But my work neither. Because my desire towards work is so strong.....I'm only able to do a little for my children within this situation. There are several things I had to give up about my children. For instance, even if there is a

good programme or activities for children, I cannot take my kids to the programme. So even if they want, they cannot participate in such programmes during weekdays. Instead I try to find another way of doing it or suggest other options to my kids. Usually I say let's do it on weekends and indeed we do many things on Saturdays or Sundays. Sometimes I have to work even on weekends, but then I bring my children to my office and let them see what I'm doing." (Surhee)

Instead of rearranging her employment, Surhee tries to find alternative ways of solving her children's educational needs. One of her alternative ways is, as is shown in the above narrative, that she distributes her commitment over the span of a week. That is, Surhee allocates her weekends to her children only, while she devotes herself to work during the weekdays. On Saturday morning, for instance, she brings her children to extra curricular activities that require transportation, such as football for her son and science class for her daughter. In the afternoon, she does some other activities with her children including visiting some places or taking a walk. In the evening, she usually helps her son with his homework. Saturday is the day Surhee is 'mother'.

Another strategy for fulfilling children's educational needs is buying service. Since she is not available for providing transportation during weekdays, for instance, she has arranged a private home-visiting-tutor (instead of sending her children to institutions) in order to supplement her children's learning. Furthermore, she has also employed an undergraduate student for helping her son with his homework. As she did for the emotional need of her children, Surhee also buys alternative service providers for her children's educational need. Although familial resources are hardly found in Surhee's case, instead she has been able to mobilise financial resources for practising her motherhood i.e. caring for and educating her children.

From Surhee's stories and strategies, an important aspect of motherhood is revealed, that is, mothers as managers and organisers. Although she tries to do things with children when she has time, her motherhood mainly consists of arranging alternative providers for care and education, rather than direct involvement. She conceptualised her motherhood as 'something in between'; 'I don't know how my children might think (about Surhee as a mother), but I do hope I can do something in between for them (some roles which are not exactly direct care or education provider but something else she can do for her children).'

Yujin is another mother who has a similar concept of motherhood to Surhee. In addition, she was also making her work and motherhood compatible by mobilising financial resources. However, Yujin's case illuminates a broader aspect of womanhood.

Families' understanding / a mother as a method provider

Yujin is a thirty-five-year-old interior designer who studied abroad for her Masters degree. Yujin and her husband have two children aged eight and five. Her husband is a deputy senior manager and belongs to a family which owns a local newspaper. Yujin has five years' experience as an employee, but recently she opened her own office with a friend of hers. In addition to her own business, Yujin is also teaching at a university as a part-time lecturer. Due to her tight work schedule, our meeting was postponed several times and finally I was able to see Yujin at her office on a weekday morning. A visitor and phone calls interrupted our interview from time to time, however Yujin was back to our interview soon after asking her secretary to do the rest of the work. Along with Surhee, Yujin is one of the busiest mothers in my study who work no less than their husbands do. In fact, Yujin reports that she works 10 hours longer than her husband does on a weekly basis. At the very start of our interview, Yujin introduced herself as a career-oriented woman who loves her job.

"Since I was young, I have thought I would be a professional and it became even stronger when I was an undergraduate. As I was going to be a pianist, you see, I began to learn piano since I was four. But I changed my mind at high school (to interior design).... Our family values education above all..., my parents are very supportive in providing opportunity for their children to learn. They did not discriminate daughters from sons. Although they have many daughters, three and one son, my two sisters all studied abroad for PhD. Well, of course my brother did too....In fact I'm the only one who chose 'art' as major. But because I knew this (Interior Design) was what I really liked and wanted to do, I devoted myself to study. Since I was an undergraduate, I have worked at construction and design offices to learn practical skills.... I believed I should work. I did not have such traditional ideals of womanhood. ...." (Yujin)

As a consequence, Yujin made this clear to her husband when she was engaged after finishing her study, declaring 'I'm not going to marry a man who wants a housewife.'

Yujin was successful in getting her husband's promise to support her work, however she was confronted by strong opposition from his parents.

"His family is very traditional and conservative. When I lived with my parents-in-law (for about one and a half year in the very beginning of her marriage), for instance, I had to wear Korean traditional costume and made a bow to my parents-in-law every morning for the first month. And we perform numbers of ancestral sacrifices. Sometimes, I had to prepare it even twice per week. Furthermore, since no woman in his family worked (all women were housewives), my parents-in-law did not allow me to have a job.... So, I made a kind of long-term strategy, in order to change their mind. I did my best for performing my domestic duty as a daughter-in-law and a housewife. At the same time, however, I was also doing my work at night, such as writing articles or doing some project. My parents-in-law obviously saw me working at night. I think it was a kind of demonstration, which shows how strongly I want to work. Since I was loyal to perform all my duties like other women in their family, they came to admit I'm a good daughter-in-law. But also they recognised I'm a woman with strong will to work. Anyway, 6 months later I politely asked them whether I might go out for work. Well, initially they tried to persuade me, they said 'why don't you choose an easy life? etc. etc...' but I did not give up and said how important this work was and especially emphasized I could contribute to our society through this work as a pioneer of my profession (lighting design)...You know there was no expert in this area....Then finally they changed their mind.... and encouraged me, saying 'if you think so, if you really want to contribute to our society, then do your best.' ...." (Yujin)

As Yujin mentioned, her desire to work, her commitment towards her career was indeed strong enough to defeat the opposition from her parents-in-law. However, the above testimony all the more highlights the tactics she adopted for achieving her parents-in-law's consent. That is, presenting herself as a woman who is willing to perform her domestic duties based on traditional gender division of labour rather than rejecting them, but also as a woman with a mission for the whole of society. This reminds us of Sumin in chapter 6 whose employment can be acceptable and sustainable only when its necessity is conceptualised not as in her own interests but as the family's. The only difference between Yujin and Sumin is that the contribution to the whole of society, instead being for her family's sake, is adopted as the rhetoric to justify her employment.

Even though she was successful in achieving a career with the parents-in-law's permission, perhaps partly because of her tactical strategy, which was not opposing the conventional gender role, Yujin could not be emancipated from other roles which

society has given to a married woman. Like most mothers in my study, as a consequence, Yujin was dividing her time and energy for performing her various roles, in particular her role as a daughter-in-law.

"Since then I became a woman with a dual burden. As soon as I finished my work, I rushed home and prepared dinner for them (her parents-in-law) as well as breakfast in the morning. Although there was a domestic servant, I myself had a certain role at home as a daughter-in-law, you see.....Now, we moved out from their house and I have my own business. So I cannot do as much as I did before, but I visit my parents-in-law's every weekend. Instead they do not bother me during weekdays..... Well, my business certainly needs my entire devotion, even 100% is not enough. In addition, I'm a daughter-in-law, a wife and a mother... I really have to be a superwoman in order to play these multiple roles perfectly. I cannot avoid being obsessed with them."(Yujin)

And now as a woman who runs her own business, Yujin continuously has to seek understanding not only from her parents-in-law but from other families and relatives, for instance, for not being able to attend important family gatherings such as ancestral rites. Furthermore, her children's acceptance of their mother's being absent and also her husband's understanding of his wife working 'like a man', are certainly indispensable in Yujin's case. According to Yujin, she often goes on business trips and stays overnight in order to supervise the lighting-effects. As a consequence, the importance of support from her family is what Yujin constantly raised during the interview.

"As I told you, we have many ancestral sacrifices and each time 40-50 families and relatives get together. When I was employed, I was able to help preparing food for the sacrifices after finishing work in the afternoon. However, now as you see I'm much busier. I hardly can attend those important family gatherings. I'm trying to get understandings from other relatives and especially from my elder sister-in-law (who is in charge of preparing the sacrifices), though it's bit hard.....Without family support, a woman cannot continue to work. Especially for the professionals, support from families is crucial indeed. However, the support is not always given automatically. A woman has to be wise and try hard to get understandings from family...." (Yujin)

The family support which Yujin mentions differs much from what we have seen in Lyn's case. While the latter mainly indicates physical and instrumental support such as providing childcare and doing housework, the former mainly consists of emotional support such as acceptance for Yujin's not being there. For instance, even her 'very'(as

she described) supportive husband, hardly provides practical or instrumental support in any domestic work or childcare related activities including arranging emergency care or supervising homework. Nevertheless Yujin appreciated her husband's endurance for and independence from her.

"I'm often away from home or come home late....even later than my husband. But he always tries to understand me and also is proud of me..... Of course he sometimes complains about it and says 'I'll marry less educated woman if another life is given'... but he's very supportive. He is not a kind of man who is waiting for being served. He has experience of living alone when he studied abroad, thus he is good at doing things by himself. For instance, if he is going on business trip, he packs up everything, instead of asking me to do it for him. In addition, he likes shopping, buys his clothes and other accessories without my help. Sometimes I feel... regrettable...you see...., but it's great indeed. He is an open-minded and very independent man, that helps me a lot..... ..... I'm quite lucky. My families support me to great extent... "(Yujin)

In comparison with what she stressed as the importance of families' understanding, the practical dimension of her combining work with family especially motherhood, was less likely to be emphasised. For Yujin with sufficient resources (perhaps the most sufficient among mothers in my study), finding substitutes for her as family caregiver does not seem to be a significant constraint. This is reflected in the following narrative about arranging a nanny whom she has lived with since the very beginning of her motherhood.

"As you see, I need 100% help for childcare and housework as well. Though I had thought about familial care, it certainly has some limitations....um... I mean I might not feel so comfortable as much as I do now, if one of my families were helping me...and.... Basically, there is no one who'd like to live with us among my family members..... Anyway I was looking for a person who could take care of the kids well. I mean, I wanted to find a person who is good at childcare rather than housework, because my son was so young at that time. Just then, I was introduced to our current nanny by my sister-in-law. She (the nanny) was working for a neighbour of my sister-in-law but had to find a new place to work. She had worked as a co-resident nanny for most of her life and had experience of rearing 11 children already. In fact, I planned to employ her only for two or three years, because she had some disability in speaking and listening. I thought it might impact on my children's language skill. But they were not influenced at all and she loved my children so much..... When my children became old enough to go to childcare centre, I told her 'Don't think I'm a woman. I'm just like a man working outside. You are the person who is in charge of house keeping.' She is also very good at housework, she has a really professional mind. She does not let me make even coffee at home." (Yujin)

While most mothers in my study reported difficulties finding an adequate person for taking care of their young children outside the family, Yujin did not mentioned similar problems in searching for a nanny. Since using a nanny or a domestic servant is a popular arrangement among her relatives or neighbours, Yujin might have more information on and resources of nannies within her personal network in comparison with other mothers in my study. Furthermore, the quality of care is assumed guaranteed. As Yujin emphasised, her nanny was a professional specialised in childcare with long enough experience. Even further, she is good at housework. In general, the grandmother is regarded as the best alternative care provider partly because she has know-how in childcare through their personal experience of rearing their own children in the past. However, Yujin highlights that a nanny could be better than familial care as she has more experience of rearing children and as her experience is more recent one.

Along with employing a professional caretaker for her two children, Yujin adopted the same practical strategies as Surhee. Firstly, she divided the week into two; weekdays for work and weekends for children. Unlike Surhee, however, weekends are also the days for practicing her role as daughter-in-law. Secondly, she also employed private tutors for helping with the children's study and other activities. Furthermore, since Yujin is able to mobilise her parents-in-law's driver, providing her children with transportation to school or to other activities seems not so problematic as for Surhee. Because Yujin has the most sufficient financial resources in my study, combining work and motherhood (but not womanhood) seems not so intractable, at least in a practical dimension.

Under the situation of working in a highly competitive business world and thus with little time to practice traditional motherhood, Yujin cannot avoid feeling guilty about her children as she is not able to be with them. During the interview, however, Yujin focused much on the positive influence of having her own profession, both on her children and on her family life. For instance, she said 'my kids are much better than children of full-time mothers in doing their homework and preparing for school by themselves…I think it's good for them in the long term….. And working outside helps

me understand the man's world and hence my husband's too.' Like Lyn and Surhee, furthermore, she was reconstructing motherhood from content-provider to method-provider.

"*After the children enter the school, there are many things for mothers to do. Various school events, homework and so on. In Korean society, to become a mother of school pupil is more than a usual thing. However, I cannot do many things for my children, as you see I have no time at all. I almost neglect my children, especially my second (laughs). But instead, I'm pretty much concerned about the quality. I said to my children 'I cannot always be with you and help you, but I will provide the environment for you to do anything you need and want.' I cannot teach everything but I try to teach how they can get what they want. I think that is the most important role of mother.* " *(Yujin)*

Along with the importance of resources, Yujin's case particularly highlighted families' understanding and acceptance as another vital element for married women to pursue success in a profession. For Yujin, as the only and the first woman in her traditional and conservative family-in-law, especially which by no means needed a woman's secondary income, the compatibility of work and womanhood (as well as motherhood) becomes an issue of getting the families agreement rather than a matter of obtaining resources for solving childcare and other family care needs.

Resources and strategies

From the above professional and managerial working mothers, we can find two crucial factors which enable them to combine work and motherhood without a break in their career. In almost all mothers in this group, firstly, parental influences on gender ideology and commitment towards career are commonly observed. As is shown in the above cases, they were all brought up in such families, that did not assign the conventional gender-differentiated tasks to their male and female children, and which encouraged even daughters to pursue higher education and lifetime careers. Furthermore, it is also noteworthy that there are two mothers who have seen a role model of career women throughout their childhood through their own employed mother.

"(I) Never doubted about becoming a doctor. I have been told it since I was young, and I have always seen my mother (a nurse) as a role model." (Ayoung, 32, medical doctor, married)

"I don't know what my children think about their mom. But I myself was very proud of my working mom (a professor). Several times, I saw my mother at work with her colleagues, and I thought she was great, so wonderful.... " (Surhee)

Given these parental influences, these mothers were able to establish a strong commitment towards their careers and high expectations of self-achievement, instead of following the conventional mother-track.

Along with this parental influence on their gender ideology, secondly, these mothers also resemble each other in their resources, which practically enabled them to pursue higher qualifications and to keep a career without breaks. Most of all, they had parents who could afford their daughter's long periods of study or training for higher qualifications. In addition, they either had familial or financial resources to find quality care from a trustable and/or skilled person who was willing to help them combine motherhood and employment, and later to support them with domestic labour and secondary care for the children. As we have seen, they were also successful in obtaining their husbands' and their families-in-law's understandings. They have not been compelled to perform the traditional role as daughters-in-law or wives, even though they are not entirely free from it. With their families' understanding as well as familial and/or financial resources, therefore, these professional mothers were able to reduce the tension between work and family. Sine these professional working mothers mostly emancipated themselves from housework and the caring role by placing a woman at home, their request for husband's participation in these roles was not so strong.

Combining work and motherhood is not so much a matter of choice for these mothers with professional occupations, but a matter of balance as they have strong commitment to their careers. These mothers have constantly incorporated motherhood into their occupational lives, mobilising many resources, developing practical strategies and trying to see the positive effect of their work on their family and children. They have significance in a sense that they are re-conceptualising the caring aspects of

motherhood, such as 'managers and organisers' or 'method providers'. Nevertheless, they have certain limits as an agency that can challenge the traditional gender roles. As we have seen, caring responsibility for these non-break working mothers fell upon another woman rather than shared between the genders.

7.2 Intermediate professional workers

While the mothers in the previous section represent those who successfully went through conventional male occupations, mothers in this section are representing those pursuing typical female jobs, including social work, the postal service, childcare work and various administrative jobs. In comparison with women in a profession or in business, mothers in this section have relatively lower positions in the occupational hierarchy. However, these positions are relatively less competitive and require a shorter time and are moderately well paid. The mothers all have undergraduate qualifications in various majors, with one a Masters degree in social work, and their husbands are mostly employed also in intermediate professional jobs with Bachelors degree.

While the interviews with the professional and managerial workers mostly highlighted the compatibility of work and motherhood by presenting their strategies and resources that enabled them to balance work and motherhood, the interviews with mothers in this section were rather focused on the incompatible aspects of work and motherhood. Although mothers in this chapter apparently have the same employment pattern regardless of their occupations, the themes they raised, their attitude towards work and motherhood differ much from what we have seen in the previous section.

Struggles over time

Sojin is a thirty-three year old senior administrator working at a women's university in Seoul. Sojin has been working for last twelve years without breaks, except for a two-month maternity leave. Sojin and her husband, a bank officer, have a child aged five. On the day of our interview, I went up to the university for which Sojin worked. While

waiting for her at a huge dining hall on the campus, I was watching numbers of women who were talking and eating in groups. They were mostly young students, but also a group of mothers with or without children was seen among the youngsters. They were the mothers of children who were using the childcare centre[1] on the campus, which is one of the well-known institutions for pre-school children. Sojin's child was also attending there.

When Sojin appeared at the front gate of the hall later than the appointed time, it became a bit crowed as it was close to lunchtime. Hence, we spent time finding a place for our interview. Though she kindly allowed me to have enough time for the interview, I could recognise that she was in a hurry, as it was in the middle of her working hours. During the hour-long interview, indeed, Sojin constantly tried to talk as much and as quickly as possible. Unlike the previous mothers in professional and managerial positions at work, Sojin's job (even though she was senior with 12 years in this career) did not seem to give her much flexibility over how she allocate her hours at work.

Similar to Lyn, familial resource is revealed as the most significant component that goes into Sojin's strategy for combining work and motherhood. Until she made arrangements with the current childcare centre which is the one on the campus several months ago, Sojin's mother had been as the main childcare provider for her son. Though her child is spending most of his time at the childcare centre currently, Sojin said her mother still provides some help for housework as well as for emergency care.

"*My mother had a job when she was young. But she could not keep her career after having us (Sojin and her brother). That's what she always regrets most in her life. Thus she used to say 'I will look after your child.' In addition my job has its own pension scheme, thus she strongly believed I'd better keep my job. Anyway, my mother looked after my son from the beginning. Though we (Sojin and her mother) were in different part of Seoul, I moved near my mother's when I was pregnant. In fact, we have been together always. Whenever she moved, I did too.... As my son grew older, however, my mother began to feel that she was incapable of being with him for all day. He become very active, indeed he was full of energy... he became bored at staying home with his granny and my mother found it hard. Thus when my son was about two years old, I began to combine Arineejip and granny. Though I did not like to do (she did not*

[1] As the attached facilities of 'children's education department' in the university, it provides a childcare service to children aged four to six of its employees but also of housewives' or working mothers' in the neighbourhood.

like to send her child to collective care centre too early), you see, my mother also needed time for meeting her friends and doing other social activities. But only two or three days (per week) he went there. In fact, only when my mother had another schedule, he was in the centre. From this March he could get a place in this kindergarten, and now he spends all day here. But still she helps me a lot. She often comes to my house and prepares dinner for us. Since my husband comes home late and my father passed away, she usually stays late with us at night. In addition, she takes care of my son during the vacation. Without my mother, in fact, I could not manage my dual life." (Sojin)

Although Sojin had arrangements with several collective childcare centres since her son was aged two, as Sojin clearly mentioned, the centres were seen as backup care so as to supplement the grandmother's care, apart from the one they had now. According to her explanation, it was arranged firstly as a response to her son's increased need for more activities and friends, but more importantly as a solution for giving child-free time to her mother, the main care provider. Similar conceptualisation of combining familial care with other types of supplementary care in the early stage of motherhood is also found from the childcare history of Semi, a thirty-year old married NGO staff member with a two-year old girl.

"During maternity leave, I stayed at my mother's flat. We (Semi and her parents)lived in the same apartment complex. And my daughter lived there for about over a year, because going and coming to each flat everyday did not seem good for child as well as my mother.... When my daughter was about seven months old, I arranged a part-time babysitter in order to help my mother. Though she (her mother) is not a career woman she used to be busy at other social activities. Thus she needs time for doing those things." (Semi)

The combination of two types of care underlines these mothers' consideration of and ability to respond to the carer's need as well as their children's needs.

Along with the help from her mother for childcare, working at a semi-public sector is another important factor that has enabled Sojin to combine work and motherhood without breaks. As a worker who is employed at a private university - especially women's university - Sojin certainly enjoyed the women friendly atmosphere at work. Firstly, she did not experience any difficulty in taking maternity leave or any discrimination in promotion.

"Because most employees (in the administrative part) of our university are women, I do not personally experience any disadvantage (from being a woman). I took a two-month maternity leave. My seniors had one month only and now it will be extended to three months, according to the new amendment. Though a few seniors are jealous of the younger workers, we cannot force them to have only a two-month break, don't you think so? They have their own right to use maximum period of the leave and it does not negatively affect their promotion at all." (Sojin)

Secondly, her job does not require longer hours than standard working hours. Though she hardly has any flexibility during work, Sojin usually works from nine to five. Furthermore, she also has even shorter hours at work during the summer and winter vacations.

However, Sojin claims that the family resources for childcare and working at this women friendly sector are still insufficient to stop her struggle over work and family. From the very beginning of the interview, Sojin much concentrated on her demand for domestic solution.

"After having a child, the world totally changed, I mean (there were) so many works I have to do.... My son did not sleep well at night, since he had a dermatological problem. We had to help make his skin calm. But I'm a kind of sleepyhead, I was overpowered with drowsiness especially at night. Thus my husband was often awake till late to help my son sleep. He was good at it. Well, of course he got angry with me, and saying 'I cannot do this any more. It's your turn.'.. Indeed we often had quarrel over the time for sleep. That's the main issue of our quarrel those days. Now he is five, he sleeps well at night. He became a good boy after going to this kindergarten... But we still have quarrel , especially over housework. Using a housework helper might be a solution. As someone suggested to me, it might bring peace between us. But housework is not that much you know? It's too much for me but really nothing if my husband helps me..... Well, he does iron. He helps me with some of the housework during the weekends, especially he plays with the kids very well..... but it hard to see him during weekdays. We go to bed before he's back, and we go out while he sleeps in the morning..... My son is often awake till late waiting for his father to play since he is an only child, he has no brothers or sisters... [Do you have plan for having another child?] Because I will continue to work and I knew how difficult to keep work with a child, I dare not take it into my head to have another child...."(Sojin)

By presenting the quarrels that she had with her husband, Sojin emphasises her need for husband's participation in the housework as well as in the childcare. Though she admits her husband's contribution to childcare and housework to some extent, it seems

to fall far short of meeting Sojin's needs. However, it scarcely can be seen as the request for equal sharing between husband and wife based on the egalitarian view. Rather Sojin's above testimony can be considered as a reverberation of her struggle over time. Though her mother lives close to her and often comes to her house for preparing dinner for Sojin's family, it was not the case that she replaces the working mother at home entirely. Though she can be at home after finishing work at five, Sojin still has another bulk of work waiting for her when she gets back home. In fact, time is a recurring theme in Sojin's (who is working in the semi-public sector) account of what is the most difficult thing about being a working mother: wanting more time to meet friends, wanting more time to be at home and talk with her husband and son, wanting more time to do shopping as well as to sleep.

"..... I cannot meet my friends. I have no time to meet them really...After finishing work at five, I rush to collect my son from the centre. Then I go home directly, eat and sleep. Even though my mother usually comes to my house and helps me to prepare dinner, still I have no time to do other things except those routines. During weekends, of course we have a time for outings but I spend most of the time doing housework which I put behind for a week, and for going shopping for coming week. But you know what? I hardly have time to stop by other corners except grocery when I go to a department store, I rarely go upstairs (where other goods are displayed and sold)..." (Sojin)

"The most difficult thing for me is time, lack of time. Time for family is absolutely insufficient. There's no time to talk with my husband and my child. I hardly can do something for my son and husband with my whole heart..... ." (Sojin)

Among the overall account of her current dual life as a working mother, the issue directly connected with childcare is not much stressed as a significant constraint of Sojin's current dual life. Though she mentioned and spent some time talking about some difficulties she had had in the past as a mother with a small child, Sojin does not conceptualise childcare as her currently confronting issue. Rather she looks much relieved from worries about her child. Along with the fact that her son is now big enough to care for himself, this is mainly because a good kindergarten (as Sojin comments) has performed a satisfactory caring roles for her child. Like most mothers in my study, however, Sojin cannot prevent herself from worrying about her son's need for education. Though it does not seem so urgent for Sojin yet, as she has another year for preparing for school, certainly she was beginning to feel aware of her son's

educational needs and her responsibility for providing learning opportunities to her child.

"Well, so far it's fine. But my son is six now, and he does nothing (not going to extra curricular activities excepting going to Kindergarten). That's what worries me. Because I'm a full-time worker, he cannot be provided opportunities to learn in right time. That's what worries me most nowadays Because... I heard .. in some case, teachers come to children's house and other mothers can bring their children to teacher's. But because I'm out for work most of day, either way might not be possible."(Sojin)

Like the professional and managerial working mothers in the previous section, Sojin also emphasised that she would keep her work, though she struggled over time and worried about her child's educational need. Unlike the previous mothers, however, Sojin conceptualized her decision to stay at work in financial terms.

"I never think about stopping working. I'm going to work at least for 20 years, otherwise I cannot be entitled to a pension. This is my 12th year and I'd like to continue to work bit more, not so long way to go now... I don't know after that, it depends on my situation, but at least until I can get my pension, I will never stop..... Well, I envy housewives. I personally think that being a woman without job is much better than with job, if possible.... In fact, I don't like my job. It's not an interesting work. Although I was good at numbers, my job is related to finance, it is not a kind of self-developing work, and it's just for money..... Perhaps, most office workers feel the same way like me. I just feet I'm like a money-earning machine (Laughing) ..... But, you know.. my husband is a bank officer and as you know well, bank officers are like flies. Never know when they are sacked. My parent-in-law often told me 'stay home and live with your husband's earning', but nowadays they do not say anything about my job. They realised how unstable their son's employment now....." (Sojin)

Sojin provided economic reasons for her strong commitment to work. She specifically justified it with the insecurity of her husband's employment, and hence the importance of the pension she can get from her work as well as her current earning is considered as an indispensable component of her family life. Although she worries about her children's education, she put much importance to her role as a provider for her family. In fact, the financial advantages of having a job cannot be denied in any case. Especially in the case of those who have relatively stable positions in a public sector like Sojin, their lifelong career may contribute to the household economy to large extent. Furthermore, after the economic crisis in East Asia in the late 1990s, a

woman's earning is more significantly perceived than ever before. Sojin's above narrative about her parents-in-law's attitude towards Sojin's working particularly showed how seriously the increased risk of employment fluctuation is considered in current Korean society.

During the interview, Sojin hardly mentioned anything about self-accomplishment or achievement, and this is one of the common features I found among mothers in this group. Instead, dissatisfaction and conflicts were more likely to appear during the interview among them. Although they hadn't left the labour market yet and some clearly mentioned that they were continuing to work, there were others who were seriously considering ceasing work.

Conflicting ideology about motherhood

Jinee is one of those who feel conflicts in their role as worker and mother. Jinee is a thirty-year-old, married woman who has been working as a post office worker for six years without a break. When I visited her three-bedroom flat in newly established residential area in Seoul on Sunday afternoon, I met all of her family members including her husband, an insurance seller, five-year-old son and her parents-in-law. With no doubt, she was using familial care for her son.

For the first three years of her motherhood, however, she lived apart from her son, since her parents-in-law took care of him in their hometown (in another county). It was only one and half year ago, that her parents-in-law moved into Jinee's house. She explained that it was mainly for her son's education: 'Because it's a small city, the quality of education is poor'. Currently, her son goes to a kindergarten in her neighbourhood for half a day and stays with his grandparents in the afternoon. Her father-in-law is in charge of collecting the child, while her mother-in-law shares the housework with Jinee. Her husband has never appeared in Jinee's work and family strategy.

In the beginning of the interview in Jinee's bedroom, her son was watching us out of curiosity, but soon he became a good playmate with my son. Since I was not able to

arrange for a childcare provider (it was a Sunday), I took my son with me. Jinee began to talk about her life history with her experience of being a pregnant woman at work.

"By the time when I started work, I was seven months pregnant. No one liked pregnant women, you see. I got excellent grade at the exam (employment examination). I should have been posted in a large size branch. But nobody wanted a pregnant woman. They sent me to a small office .... anyway, I had to give birth after several weeks.. I knew they hated me. But what could I do? ... I went on leave. But we have to read others' faces you know. We cannot use 60 days (for maternity leave). It is our custom. For instance, if your maternity leave finishes on 27th, then you have to return to work on 20th. I did not know that of course, but one of my senior colleagues told me 'You'd better come back 1 or 2 weeks earlier, if you have common sense'....I used six weeks only."(Jinee)

Jinee is working in the public sector, which often has a high proportion of female workers and hence it is presumed to have a women friendly atmosphere. Unlike Sojin, nevertheless, she felt uneasiness and a sense of being discriminated against by the fact that she was a pregnant woman. Furthermore, she was not able to insist on her right to use the full duration of maternity leave. Rather she had to learn how the nation-wide policy applied to a specific working place differently. In fact, more than half of the mothers in my study reported that they had to go back to work several weeks earlier than the legitimate duration of maternity leave. Those who had higher positions in their workplaces explained that their responsibilities in work prevented them from having full usage of their maternity leave. Others in lower levels explained it mostly by the custom in their workplaces, i.e. how their previous workers had used it.

Despite some difficulties in the beginning of her working life, however, Jinee has managed both work and family without break for more than six years. As we have seen, she was able to mobilise her parents-in-law as the main resources for her work/family strategy. Her income certainly contributed to managing her large size family, and Jinee enjoyed the freedom and power from her own earning. Unlike Lyn, Surhee and Yujin, however, much of Jinee's conversation with me was about dissatisfaction with her current situation and conflict with others and within herself.

"I cannot be satisfied with this work. Well, those who have no more than high school education look happy with this job, but not me. Many people think our job is good for women... But you see, although our office closes at five in the winter, we cannot go home. Because of banking service, we have to match

debit and credit. Even if I'm not the one who is in charge of banking, I have to stay until those sections are correctly matched. It's just wasting time, you see. Nowadays I'm going to learn how to use a computer, in the evening, thus I'm leaving my office at 6 o'clock. Otherwise, I have no time to develop myself. I don't think it is good idea to spend time for just waiting..... I come back home around 9 after finishing my computer (lesson). But when I'm back home, I feel sorry for my son.... I questioned about my life.. why I have to sacrifice my son.... And in fact, I have some trouble with my boss. She does not get on with me. We are so different in working style. She had worked at the headquarter until she came to this office, but I have worked at local branches only. Obviously my performance cannot satisfy her. (Since Jinee worked at small branches only, she thinks she is not trained well.) I also have to read my parents-in-law's faces at home. Even if I had a bad day in the office, I'm supposed to smile at home. But it's not easy for me really..... [Interviewer: No, it's not.] In order to get rid of those stresses from work and family, in fact, I decided to learn computer..., in order to forget all. But when I'm back at 9 o'clock...., it is really hard to have time to teach my son. If mother stays at home, she should teach and pay attention to her child, but because I'm really tired when I'm back I just can't. Nowadays, I'm preparing exam for computer, so I'm just worn out at night really. But as a mother... as a mother, I have tried to teach him for an hour even it I'm dead tired. But he (her son) does not help me at all. He likes English but refuses to learn the Korean alphabet. Often I think if I put my all energy to my child only (not to work), it could bring a better result than now."(Jinee)

In the above narrative, we can see a working mother's fatigued life in dilemma. Even though others might envy her, Jinee herself cannot be satisfied with her job. It is not a source of accomplishment to her. Furthermore, she has some difficulties in the relationship with her boss on one hand, and on the other hand, she also feels uneasiness with her parents-in-law at home. As a breakthrough, she decided to have her own time in a third place. It makes Jinee free from work and family, and brings her self-development, she believes. However, when she comes back, she sees her child who reminds her of what she has to do as a mother.

Jinee defines educating children as a mother's responsibility and this seems to be the most important aspect of her motherhood. For Jinee, a good mother is the mother who stays at home and teaches her own children. Jinee does not integrate her earning role into her motherhood or reconstruct the caring aspect of motherhood. As a consequence, while employment no longer conflicts with their motherhood for Lyn, Surhee and Yujin, it does still in Jinee's case. Jinee also expressed her anxiety about her child's education. In fact, no one in my study was entirely relieved from the anxiety about their children's educational needs as their children grow old. However, while the

professional mothers arranged several alternative ways of meeting their children's educational needs, Jinee has not found the way out yet.

About half a year after the interview at her flat, I had a phone call from Jinee saying "Finally I handed in my resignation." It was just before a new academic year started and Jinee became an available mother for her primary school child. Jinee, who had been a full-time employed mother in the public sector without breaks for about seven years, but now is a full-time housewife, shows that things could not continue as they were for long. Indeed most patterns are in transition according to family needs, financial situations and labour market situations.

Insufficiency of institutional support

Meeran is a thirty-year old civil servant who has a Masters degree in social work, and has eight-year work experience without career breaks. She is married to a salaried man and has two children aged six and one. I interviewed Meeran in her office on a weekday evening. Although the working hours were already over when I arrived, her three colleagues were still at work. Before going to a small room for our interview, Meeran made phone call to her mother-in-law who was caring for her two children at home, reminding her that she would be late returning home. According to her explanation, her mother-in-law moved into her house about a year ago to care for Meeran's two children. While her first child is going to a childcare centre in the morning, her second is at home with his granny. Before her mother-in-law moved into her house, Meeran's sister provided care for about a year for the two children.

For Meeran, however, familial care was not the first strategy she adopted as the result of her reconciliation of work and motherhood. When she had one child only, she solved her childcare problem without anyone else's help. This was possible by using parental leave for the first year of her motherhood, and a childcare centre later on. According to Meeran, neither her mother-in-law nor other relatives were available at that time. But most of all, she believed it was best for child to stay with his/her own mother at home. After 12 months leave, Meeran returned to work, at which point her first child was enrolled to a childcare centre. Since her child was still too young,

choosing a centre was very sensitive issue for Meeran. Although there were several childcare centres in her neighbourhood, she decided to move to another village in order to send her child to a centre she could trust.

" My kid was just one year old at that time..,so young.. but I was going to send him to a childcare centre, and he's supposed to be there for about 12 hours every day. Imagine, how I felt for him, but no other way for him at that time. I searched several childcare centres near my house but, .you know, I could not send him to any of them, because I did not know about those centres and the carers.. they were all strangers to me.... The only centre I could trust was that run by my university (which she graduated from). I knew teachers there and it had good reputation and was cheap, though it was too far from my house. Because I had worked there when I was an undergraduate student (as a part of her course work), I knew it's good. Furthermore, some of care workers in the centre were my friends. Thus, I moved near the Arineejip, feeling relieved from childcare problem. Although there was a long waiting list, I decided to wait by placing my son in a Noribang while we are waiting. But, fortunately, I was informed that there was an empty place for my son, about two weeks after the new term started. Because one child did not adapt itself to the centre well, I was able to get the place. I think it was my luck....since I'm an alumnus of the university and the professor who was in charge of the centre knew my situation well.."(Meeran)

For Meeran, the fact that she was well acquainted with the workers in the centre was the decisive factor for choosing alternative care provider. As she said, it is better to have someone you know rather than total strangers. Even though she had to move to another place, therefore, it was not considered as a big problem as long as she could secure a quality care provider whom she could trust.

However, when she had her second child, she did not take parental leave again. This is firstly because Meeran found her 12 month leave was not given free of charge. Of course, she knew that she would not be paid for the rest of the period after the two month-maternity leave. But she hadn't predicted the long-term effect on her career. For instance, when she went back to work after parental leave for her first child, Meeran found her position was transferred to another department (which was not a desirable place). In addition, she was often excluded from promotion for many years. Similar to Jinee, indeed, Meeran also experienced penalties in respect of her child even in the public sector.

"You see, the problem is not the law itself. We have many wonderful laws and regulations (policy). Don't you think so? Many issues, for the disabled or women, for example... perhaps there is nothing we cannot find in the law. But it's quite different in real world. The problem is how these regulations are practiced in every single working place."(Meeran)

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, she realised that using the childcare centre without someone's help could not fulfil her needs as a worker and as a mother. Although she was relatively free from anxiety or worry about her child, by arranging a childcare centre that she could trust, Meeran confessed it was never easy for her to combine work and family. She recalled those days that she never wants to go back to.

"Because of my moving near to the childcare centre, I had to spend more time on the street to work. It took me about one and a half hour or two... on a single journey, I mean. Even when I was transferred to the other office in the outskirt of Seoul, I could not move near my workplace due to the childcare centre. So, in the afternoon, I had to go out of office earlier than the others to collect my kid. I could not attend extra meetings with colleagues in the evening or stay at the office to work at night even though I knew I had to do. I always felt sorry for my boss and colleagues. I could not have a dignified attitude at work. Furthermore, I became isolated. [How about your husband?] His office was closer to the centre than mine, but he worked until later than me, and as you know, men don't think about children as much as women do. .... Every single day was so hard for me..... To make matters worse, I started my Masters course at night those days.. I felt the limitations of my ability. Nothing was going well, either my family life or my work...cleaning, cooking, bringing kids up, studying....none of those was going all right...."(Meeran)

Even though she knew that she had to stay late for work at the office, she always had to leave the office earlier than the others in order to collect her child. Even though her husband was closer to the centre, he hardly collected his child as Meeran explained. Therefore, when she had her second child unexpectedly, she would had given up her work, if she have not been able to mobilise her family members for childcare.

"I could not think about having another child. Because it was so hard for me to survive as a working mom without someone's help. But I had second, as you see,... by chance. I thought I could not work anymore. I thought I would work only until the due dates. But thankfully, my sister became available when I just had my second. She's married and stayed at home with her child and her husband was going abroad for about a year.... Therefore, I moved to the next door to her house. While my first child went to a Kindergarten near my house, my sister looked after my younger one at home. After one year, my sister went abroad for joining her husband, and my mother-in-law came to our house. [Did you ask her?] No,

my husband. He asked earnestly his mom to stay with us until the younger one would become a bit older. Since she was too old to work at the field, she was reducing her work and rented her land to tenants at that time. So she could accept..... It is almost a year now. She might say that she wants to go back to her hometown soon, but I would like to ask for staying another year with us."(Meeran)

In theory, working mothers should be able to manage their dual life depending on social institutions and support, based on social and labour market policy. Working mothers can use parental leave for the first year and they can send their children to childcare centres later on. However, Meeran as well as Jinee has shown that the reality is quite different from what people might think. Firstly, using maternity and parental leave often bring disadvantages to the users' finance and to their future career. And this seems to be the main reason why the usage of parental leave among mothers I interviewed was not as high as I expected, even though they believe that the best carer for the baby is its own mother. Secondly, using a childcare centre is not fulfilling the working mother's need and indeed this is one of the themes which constantly emerge during the interview with working mothers. Even those employees who work for standard hours in public sector often have to stay late at work or have meals with other colleagues. Sometimes children are ill or have infective diseases so that they cannot go to the childcare centre. Without securing a supplementary carer, therefore, surviving as working mothers is rarely possible. During the interview Meeran repeatedly emphasised that combining work and family is not possible without other woman's help. Especially after having more than one child, it is virtually impossible to carry on both work and family without employing a helper or family support. Without her mother-in-law's care of her children, she could have neither stayed at work till late nor had the interview with me.

"*For the future, mother had to endure all the difficulties, but at some point, it is so brutal. If she has one child, it might manageable. But with two kids... I think, it cannot be manageable without someone's help." (Meeran)*

Resources and strategies

As we have seen from Sojin, Jinee and Meeran, one of the most eye-catching similarities among these intermediate professional mothers without breaks, is that they

were able to mobilise their family members for childcare. With no exception, they all have relied on their family members such as their parents (-in-law) and/or sisters for the first few months or years of their motherhood. Furthermore, they all (but one) live with one of their parents or parents-in-law, either in the same house or in the same neighbourhood, and hence can get support for emergency care as well as for housework.

In addition to their family support, working in the public sector certainly helps these women to combine work with motherhood. In comparison with the mothers who had to move out of the labour market due to the non-existence of maternity/parental leave policy in their place of work, mothers including Sojin, Jinee and Meeran in this work pattern are certainly beneficiaries of those women-friendly policies. All had maternity leave policy in their workplaces, and two mothers went on leave longer by using parental leave.

As it repeatedly appeared, however, it is important to note that these two main components (family resources and occupational resources), which comprised their strategy for keeping their careers without breaks, are likely to be restricted in several ways. Firstly the help from their family members is not a kind of entire replacement of the traditional mother role, as we have seen from Lyn in the previous section. In Lyn's case, she is hardly involved in housework or caring at home as her mother-in-law performs all the domestic duties. However, these intermediate professional mothers commonly show that they cannot step ways from their domestic duties. As we have seen from Sojin, during weekends or at night when her mother went back home, it is she who shoulders most domestic duties. Even when they live with another family member in the same house, these mothers still perform housework rather than lay back to take rest. Furthermore, two mothers reported that their mothers-in-law who live in the same house have jobs outside home, so that they have three-adult families, which consists of three earners rather than two earners and one carer. Not only their familial resources, but secondly institutional support including quality care facilities and child leave policies are not entirely women-friendly as Jinee and Meeran's cases show. Unlike the professional and managerial workers, as a consequence, these intermediate

professional mothers were overwhelmed by hardships and conflicts in their current dual life.

7.3 Conclusion

Unlike the previous groups of mothers, the fourteen mothers in this work pattern including professional and intermediate professional workers, did not rearrange their employment as their work and motherhood strategy. This is mainly because they were relatively rich in their resource which can be mobilised for childcare. Although some mothers in this employment pattern have shown strong commitment towards their career, the same attitudes was not necessarily found in other mothers. Rather these fourteen non-break mothers share similar characteristics in their resources. That is, they could have occupational resources such as maternity or parental leave in their work place, though it has never been easy to use them and often brings disadvantages to careers. Secondly, there has been a woman (or women) beside these mothers to help them with childcare and housework to some extent, using their familial or financial resources.

As we have seen throughout the last three chapters, working mothers in my study have employed different work patterns, according to several factors including their motherhood ideology, their resources to mobilise for childcare, and their attitude towards work. The majority of mothers in my study chose to stop work temporarily as part of their reconciliation of work and motherhood. They distributed their commitment to work and care over the life span, according to their children's need, and this pattern of work has been found across all occupations, as we have seen in chapter 5. Compared with taking breaks, working part-time or homework in chapter 6 was not such a popular option among mothers in my study. However, those two employment patterns certainly serve working mothers' interests as they enable them to perform motherhood without losing contact with the labour market and hence their income and their identity as workers. As the last employment pattern, we have looked at the mothers who stayed in work in this chapter. Since they did not change their employment, the main attention was given to the resources available for childcare and their motherhood ideology. While the first three employment patterns were similar to

each other as they emphasised the mothers' role as primary care provider for their children, the mothers who stayed at work challenge the traditional motherhood ideology by reconstructing their motherhood as provider, manager and organiser. As we have seen, however, remaining at work seems a rather limited option for those mothers who can mobilise other women either within their family or by paying nannies. In fact, they could hardly keep their career without other women's help. Thus it may argue that women's work outside home might bring significant renegotiations of the traditional 'motherhood ideology', nevertheless it does not lead to challenges in the traditional 'gender role ideology' as their childcare responsibility is shared between female family members or with women in lower classes.

Chapter 8
Individual type of childcare: Perspectives of the mothers

Despite the increased availability of other types of childcare during the last decade (chapter 3), mothers in my study have shown that their preference for family members as main childcare provider still seems to be strong. Especially for infants and toddlers, a family member is considered as the most preferable substitute for mother care. Why is this still the case in Korea and what about the mothers who could not mobilise familial care for their children? Although childcare arrangement has been examined throughout the previous three chapters, this chapter is designed to take further the analysis of individual types of childcare, in order to bring together the material on childcare use and views about appropriate care. Particular attention is given to the reasons why mothers arrange familial or other individual care for their children and how they arrange them.

8.1 Nobody to trust, no place to send: reasons for using familial care[1]

Out of the 49 mothers in my study 18 mothers have experience of receiving help from their family members for childcare. Furthermore, some of them still depend on their family members in order to supplement collective childcare. Considering their occupations and family income, these mothers who are able to mobilise family members for childcare are mostly (if not all) middle-class mothers. Although other female relatives and one grandfather are also involved in childcare, grandmothers, from either paternal or maternal sides, play the most important role as alternative care provider in my study.

[1] Though 'family' can be defined in various ways, here the word 'family' indicates 'relatives'. That is, 'family members' include all members of working mother's original family as well as her husband's original family, and hence any one who has blood relationship with the child cared for.

Heejin is a thirty-two year old married mother of a three-year-old girl, and has recently got a full-time lectureship in a university in her hometown. She lives in a three-bedroom rented flat with her husband and a daughter. Her husband, a civil servant working for the central government, works from nine to six, while Heejin often works till late at night due to lectures for night course classes. However, she has relative flexibility in using her time, as do the other university lecturers in my study. When I arrived at her flat around half past ten on a weekday morning, Heejin has just come back from her daughter's childcare centre. Although the centre she uses for her child is located in the workplace of her husband, it is Heejin who always takes her daughter to the centre on her way to work, around half past nine or ten in the morning. According to Heejin, her daughter usually wakes up late in the morning so that she cannot go out with her father. But more importantly, Heejin herself does not like her child staying in the centre for long hours. Her current childcare arrangement in the following testimony shows that Heejin has tried to minimise the hours of her daughter's staying at the centre as much as she can.

"As you see, I'm coming home around 10 or 11 (at night). Until then, Mina (Heejin's daughter) is still awake. She wants to see me and to play. Thus she always gets up late in the morning. If she goes to Arineejip with her father, she had to wake up early. But I just let her sleep longer since I can take her to Arineejip on my way to work..... I collect her at 3, although the centre opens till 9 (P.M.), there is no special programme after 3 o'clock. Sleeping and a bit of playing time and tiding up, that's it. Thus I don't feel it's necessary for her to stay there longer. Rather staying home and relaxing is better for her. That's why I want her back home early. I collect Mina at 3 but only on two days... since I have lectures till late for the other days. So for one day my mother comes to collect Mina and looks after her until my husband comes back from work. On the other two days, my sister (who is an undergraduate student) collects her. But she has to go to school (at night) before my husband comes, so I've asked a neighbour of mine to fill up the time gap. That is, my sister collects Mina at 3 o'clock and plays with her for about two hours at home, and my sister brings her to my neighbour's when she is going out for school, and finally my husband collects her from the neighbour's on his way home. [Interviewer: My goodness, it's so complicated!]. I know, but...I think it's better than paying someone (whom) I don't know for the after-centre care. I only can trust my family and my close neighbours." (Heejin)

The childcare centre Heejin uses for her child provides its caring service more than 12 hours per day - from eight to nine. Nevertheless Heejin decided to have such an intricate care arrangement through maximising the resources available for her,

including her time flexibility at work, her family members and also her neighbours. This is mainly because of her deliberate consideration about her child's need and about what would be the best for her three-year-old child. Heejin believes that spending all day in the centre with other children makes her daughter exhausted and makes her stressed. Several hours' educational programme at the childcare centre is good enough. Securing a certain amount of time for staying at home and relaxing is much more important for her small daughter. As a consequence, even though Heejin could hand over the responsibility of collecting her child to her husband because he could collect her on his way home in the evening, she did not choose the easiest way.

In general, mothers' views on the ideal way of organising care for children do not much differ from Heejin's. Firstly, the main function of formal/collective types and of informal/one-to-one types of childcare are seen differently. Secondly, the amount of time that their children spend in childcare centre as well as the quality of the service is the main concern of the mothers I interviewed. A childcare centre is where children can meet friends and have learning opportunities, but it is also where they can experience stress and tiredness from the activities and from the interactions with teachers or other children. Like adults, children need to be in more relaxing environments for certain amounts of time. Even if children are old enough to go to childcare centres, as is the case for Heejin's child, it is not considered ideal for them to stay in these centres all day.

If Heejin employed a nanny or a babysitter for collecting and for providing after-centre care, her everyday life and also others' (including her mother and sister and neighbour) would be much easier than now. But why did Heejin arrange such an intricate timetable? One clue comes from the final sentence in Heejin's above testimony, i.e. her view of the trustworthiness of the care provider. Heejin said that she could not trust any one else but her family members and her close neighbours. The issue of trustworthiness is what Heejin has been mostly concerned about in arranging childcare throughout her motherhood. It was only 6 months ago when Heejin's daughter began to go to the collective childcare centre. Before the current arrangement, Heejin had relied on her mother for childcare from the very beginning of her motherhood and it was mainly because she could not be sure about the trustworthiness of other care providers

outside the family. Heejin's testimony on childcare history for her early motherhood shows this more clearly.

"When Mina (her daughter) was born in February.... 1997, we moved into my parent's house and stayed there for one and a half years....Um, in fact, we moved out once, as my mother did not feel comfortable to live with my husband... But since he was soon transferred to other city, Mina and I moved into my mother's again. For about one and half years, so, we stayed there until my husband moved here [the city where she has lived] again. Then my mother came to my house to care for Mina.... She came to my house when I went out for lecture or for my study. (She was doing a PhD. course and giving lectures part-time) Since I tried to work at home with my child as many hours as possible, my mother in fact looked after my kid only for a few hours except one whole day. However, I always felt sorry for her. To be frank, my mother was repeatedly saying that she would not take care of my kid since I got married... But since she knew that there was no way, she decided to help me rather unwillingly...Although she did not have a job, she was busy at her social life and she enjoyed it. She wanted to meet her friends and to participate in various activities in a church. Thus once I tried to find a nanny in order to let her free. But you know what? I could not find anyone else as good as my mom. Of course, the cost of employing a nanny was a problem for me at that time. But even if I was willing to pay more, I'm sure that I could not find a proper person. Money was not a real issue here, you see, I could not trust anybody else." (Heejin)

When we consider her expression of feeling 'sorry' for her mother, depending on family members for childcare seems not be so natural to Heejin. Furthermore, her mother did not like to take care of Heejin's child either. Nevertheless, as she and her mother could not trust any one else outside family boundary, Heejin inevitably decided to get help from her mother, and her mother agreed to become a carer. Like Heejin, Han, a thirty-two-year-old, married mother of two children aged four and two, also said,

"My husband told me he could not trust anyone else apart from our family members (for childcare), and neither did I. Since my son was too young, I could not feel safe for sending him to anybody else's. I think my families-in-law also felt the same way as I did, and they agreed to provide care. My son lived with my husband's brother's family for several months (They lived in another county), but living apart and visiting him every weekend was quite hard for me. Finally, my mother-in-law decided to move into our house for childcare (she lived in another county) so that I could live with my son in the same house until my second child was born. If I was not able to get help from them (her family members), I would have given up my job when I had my first child." (Han)

In arranging alternative childcare, the issue of the trustworthiness of the childcare provider is something that comes up repeatedly during the interview, as a justification for the women's preference for, and their arrangement of, familial care. Working mothers in general could not feel comfortable with leaving their children to non-family members at least for the first few months or years. Because during the very early childhood children entirely depend on the carer, working mothers can not be relieved from anxiety about their children unless they arrange a reliable and responsible alternative carer. The most reliable and responsible person is believed to be the one in blood relationship with the child, as it is believed that a relative will provide care based on love, which mothers consider as the most important component in providing care for very young children. As we have seen from Heejin and Han's testimonies, this belief is indeed widely shared among family members as well as mothers in my study. As a consequence, even if the mothers may not always feel comfortable to ask family members for childcare, they continue to arrange familial care, and even if family members are reluctant to do so they eventually accept being a main alternative childcare provider, even though it sometimes means 24 hours care.

For some mothers, of course, using family members might not necessarily be considered the best way of solving the childcare problem. In fact, some negative aspects of familial care, especially those of grannies' care, are mentioned by some mothers in my study. For instance, Hayoung, a thirty-four-year-old married mother of two children who works part-time said, 'Grandparents are not so ideal (as main childcare provider) because they spoil children.' Eunjee, a sewing worker who is a thirty-one-year-old married mother of two children, also mentioned that 'I don't like grannies' care. Well, of course, they can keep kids clean and give them healthy food. But that's all. They are not educative.' Nevertheless, both Hayoung and Eunjee do not deny the possibility of using their mother or mother-in-law for childcare if they were available.

"*Well, if my mother-in-law were available, I might rely on her, though it would not be for long.*"
(Hayoung)

"If I had another baby, I would ask my mother-in-law to live with us, but only for a short period. I will ask her to take care of my child for about one and half years and then I will use childcare centre." (Eunjee)

With a clear dichotomy between care and education, the above testimonies imply that grannies cannot be seen as the best alternative for *educating* children, but still can be preferable for *caring* children at least during the early childhood. In addition, they can be good resources for compensating the inflexibility of institutional care or for emergency care.

Along with the issue of trustworthiness as the most popular justification for using a family member as an alternative care provider, secondly, the poor quality of collective childcare is also provided as one of the justifications. For instance, Lyn, an assistant professor who is married and has relied on three of her extended family members for her six and four-year- old children, said;

"If there was...um....of course, our economic situation was not so good at that time. But if there were good facilities, I mean a nice and spacious place near my house, I might not depend on my relatives. But, as you know, Noribang (a collective childcare provided at childminder's house) is a converted flat. There is no garden and it's crowded with many children..... its physical environment is so poor.. Furthermore, teachers in the collective centre cannot take care of children well since they have to do so much work. I did not like to send my child to that kind of facility.. that's why my children were passed through many hands of my relatives. At least they can be loved and their (emotional) needs can be fulfilled." (Lyn)

Focusing on the physical environment of the childcare centre and the ratio of children to child carers, Lyn points out the poor quality of childcare provision as the main reason for her depending on family members. This justification is echoed by Heejin as well in another part of her childcare history.

"When I started to write my thesis, it was last year when Mina was about two (years old), I really had to find another childcare provider, in order to concentrate on my work. You see, I could not ask my mother more.. Thus I had searched several collective childcare centres, I mean Noribang as well as Arineejip, but there was no one I liked. Noribang did not have enough space for children to move or to play, and they accepted all different aged children, so, older children were rarely paid attention. I seriously doubt the quality of care provided in those home-based cares. I decided not to think about Noribang again.

Instead, I turned my eyes to the centre-based care, but the situation was not so much different from Noribang. Although there were a few good public childcare centres (including the current one she uses), they had a long waiting list... Inevitably, thus, I enrolled Mina in a private childcare centre, which was recently built and close to my house. Furthermore it had the legal number of child carers. But the problem was my daughter, she did not want to go there after just one session. What could I do but give up sending her to the centre even though I already paid.... I was so puzzled...But fortunately, my sister became available as she had resigned from her job to study, so she began to help me to care my daughter and housework with my mother." (Heejin)

Similar to Lyn, Heejin also could not be satisfied with the quality of existing collective care provision. She found the home based care (*Noribang*) was of poor quality and there was a lack of places in the better quality childcare provision. Although she arranged a second-best option for her daughter, i.e. the private childcare centre, this time her child disliked the new arrangements. As a consequence, Heejin continuously depended on her family, i.e. her sister as well as her mother.

From Heejin's above testimony, we can find a hidden factor in arranging alternative childcare, that is, the 'children themselves'. Even if mothers make the best arrangement for their own children with consideration about their children's need, children themselves can make their preference known verbally or non-verbally about their mothers' decision. As a consequence, the original arrangement for childcare or the whole reconciliation strategy of working mothers is likely to be changed according to their children's preference or adjustment to a new care-environment or care provider. Sue in the final section also shows the importance of children's preference in the process of arranging childcare.

In addition to the above two justifications - trustworthiness and the quality of institutional care, familial care may also be seen as a more affordable option in comparison with other individual types of care. In most cases, exchanging cash for care may involve intra-family relationship. However, it often has symbolic importance, which shows respect for the carer's labour and time. In general, mothers in my study paid their family members who helped with childcare less than one third of the average cost of employing a nanny. In addition, if mothers move into their parents' houses for childcare reasons, as it was in Heejin's case, the economic advantages are even bigger

as they can save on their house rental costs. However, childcare by family members is not primarily motivated by economic considerations. Rather, as we have seen so far, mothers mainly focus on their children's need, and the time and the quality of childcare providers and of childcare facilities.

8.2 Securing accessibility: changing structures for using family members

In the previous section, we have seen that working mothers still have strong preferences and needs for family members as the substitute for mother care. Through the evidence from the mothers I interviewed, in particular, it can be suggested that the strong cultural belief on the blood relationship together with the unsatisfactory quality of current childcare provision contributed to the continuity of depending on family for childcare in Korea. In comparison with few decades ago, however, it seems more difficult to get help from family members. Households are diminishing in size and becoming less extended in composition due to urbanisation, migration, and other social changes. Furthermore, the recency and rapidity of socioeconomic changes of Korean society have meant that many nuclear families live at places that are geographically distant from their parents or close relatives. As a consequence, the possibility of adults available for childcare existing in the same household/neighbourhood or even in the same city has been decreased, and hence the accessibility to familial resources becomes a problem, even if there are family members who are willing to provide childcare. Subsequently, most who want to use familial care inevitably engaged into a negotiation process with the relatives as to the way of organising accessibility.

Among the mothers I interviewed who had experience of using familial care, only one mother did not need such consideration, since she had had a relative (her mother) available in a commutable distance from the very beginning of her motherhood. However, the rest of the mothers had to find a way of accessing familial resources. From those 18 mothers who have experience of using familial care as the main childcare arrangement, three different ways of using their family members were found

and most mothers adopted at least one of them. These are: staying close to parents; temporary cohabitation; and becoming a weekend mother i.e. 24 hours familial care.

Staying close to parents: geographical proximity

Sojin is a thirty-three-year-old married senior administrator working for a university in Seoul, and has twelve-year work experience without a break. Sojin and her husband, a bank officer, have a five-year-old son. Since her son goes to the childcare centre[2] located in the university Sojin works for, she always takes him to and from the centre. Before she arranged the current childcare centre about a year ago, she mainly depended on her mother for childcare. For the last four years, either Sojin brought her son to her mother's or her mother came to Sojin's home everyday.

Like Sojin, when we think about using familial care, it is often assumed that either the mother or the care provider comes to the other's house for daytime care. However, only four mothers in my study reported that they adopted this way in using their family members for childcare. Even in those four cases, three mothers said they intentionally chose to live near their parents for childcare reason. Sojin said,

"*We (Sojin and her mother) were in different part of Seoul. But after having my son, I decided to move near my mother's so that I could solve the childcare problem as well as housework. In fact, we have been together always. Whenever my mom moved to other place, I did too.*" *(Sojin, 33, Married)*

Furthermore, Heejin also mentioned her future plan to move near her parent's.

"After using current childcare centre, situations are better than before. But still I have to work at night and cannot depend on my sister forever.. she has to get a job and to get married.... Thus I decided to move near my mother's. She bought a flat in a new residential area and I did too. We are going to move there in two years time when the construction has been done.... Otherwise, childcare is really problematic for me especially at night. Even if my kid goes to primary school, the situations won't be better. She will come back home just after lunch time, it's even worse, you see." (Heejin, 32, Married)

[2] Though the childcare centre belongs to the university that Sojin works for, it is not a workplace childcare centre which is provided by the employer for female employees. As the attached facilities of 'children's education department', it provides childcare service for any children aged four to six of housewives' or working mothers'.

Like Sojin and Heejin, increasing geographical proximity to their parents (-in-law) becomes a popular strategy among working mothers in my study as a reconciliation of combining work and motherhood. As Heejin said, even if other types of childcare are arranged as the main care solution, to stay close to family members in the same neighbourhood would be a great help for compensating for the inflexibility of institutional care and education services, or for emergencies.

Temporary cohabitation

Another way of using family members for childcare is living together with the family care provider in the same household. Nine mothers in my study reported that they have experience of cohabiting with their parents or parents-in-law for childcare reasons. In most cases, mothers had adopted this strategy as a temporary solution. However, in some cases, their cohabitation seems to have lasted much longer as childcare needs do not easily disappear even after the children go to the primary school. When I interviewed them, six out of nine mothers still lived together with their parents (-in-law). There are two ways of cohabiting emerged in this study. Firstly, working mothers move into their parents (-in-law)' houses, and secondly their parents (-in-law) move into the working mothers' houses. While to bring their parents (in-law) home is a strategy for mothers whose family members live too far from where they work, to move into their parents' houses is an option only for those who can commute to work from the house everyday. It is however, also noteworthy that mothers who moved into their parents' home were in a particular situation when they decided to do so. For instance, Dasol, a thirty-five-year-old radio actress who has two children aged seven and three, decided to move into her mother's for childcare reasons, at which point her husband went abroad to study. In the case of Sue, a married primary school teacher, she decided to move into her parents-in-law's house when she had her second child but she said she also needed to save money.

"Um...several reasons... solving childcare problem is the first. At that time, I had my second child and I had to prepare exam for qualification. But I could not manage my study and two kids with the help of a babysitter only. Thus we moved into my parents-in-law's and my mother-in-law took charge of caring for

my kids. We also strongly felt we should save money. We had to reduce our living costs to buy our own house." (Sue)

As some mothers suggested in my study, multigenerational living, i.e. the traditional way of living, might be the ideal household for working mothers as several family members can share the childcare and housework - even though it mostly means sharing between female family members. However, during the interview, especially with those six mothers who were currently living with their parents (-in-law), I found that the traditional way of living did not seem always to be ideal. Some mothers said that they had some conflict with their parents-in-law (see Jinee's case in 7.3). Others say their parents do not like to be with them.

"*My mother often told me 'that's enough.. move out, please move out.'.. I know she is not really happy living with us....*" *(Young)*

"My mother-in-law wants to go back home to her hometown. But as you see I still need her help. I'm going to ask her another year to stay with us, though she might not be happy." (Meeran)

In fact, it is not difficult to find examples of grandmother's unwillingness in providing childcare. As we have seen in Heejin's case as well as in Surhee's (in chapter 7), their mothers did not want to provide care for her grandchildren. Furthermore, Chayeon's following testimony clearly shows how grandmothers think about providing childcare for their grandchildren nowadays. Although it cannot be denied that still many grannies get involved in childcare for their grandchildren, and the extended family network is the key element for enabling mothers to reconcile work and motherhood in Korea (albeit not for all), the process of arranging familial care also highlights that there are grannies who want to be free from that extra caring role.

"She (her mother) likes children but ..well..my mom is not very patient with children ....In addition, her friends told her if you look after your grandchildren you will get old quickly, you become ill, it is very hard for us, etc etc etc. Even though your children pay you for it, you should not accept it. So my mother also thinks the same way.....Of course she refused at first, but I begged her. 'Geeun (her second child) is too young to go to a care centre. If I use a nanny I have to pay at least 400 or 500 thousand won but I only can earn 600-700 thousand won. Please mum only for a few months until she becomes 6 months old. Then I can send her to a childcare centre.' Fortunately, Geeun did not bother my mother. She hardly

cried, just slept or smiled. In fact, I trained her for the first two months. I Just leave her at home I did not hug her when she was crying. She is so placid. Otherwise my mom could not take care of Geeun for several months. I paid her 200,000 Won (about £100) but she supplied nappies and milk when I forgot to bring them."(Chayeon)

Becoming a weekend mother: living apart from their children

The final strategy of using family members found in my study is 'becoming a weekend mother' by leaving their child at the childcare provider's house. Ten out of 18 who used family members as the main alternative care provider reported that they adopted this strategy because for various reasons, the mothers could not move into the family members' house, and vice versa. Therefore, they decided to live separately from their children for the time being and it was for between two months at minimum and five years at maximum reported. Out of ten, only one mother was still leaving her second child to her mother in another county at the time of the interview, while she looked after her first child. For the rest, becoming a weekend mother was not their strategy of using family members anymore. They had either changed their way of using family members or they had arranged other types of childcare such as a nanny or collective care.

Soyoung, a thirty-year-old mother of a two-year-old girl, who has been working as a civil servant for six years without breaks, is one of these ten. When I interviewed her, her daughter was going to a childcare centre and her mother-in-law came to her house every day for taking the child to and from the centre. For the first seventeen months of her motherhood, Soyoung lived separately from her daughter as her mother-in-law provided 24 hours care in another city. Although she was not happy with living apart from her daughter, Soyoung said that she had no other option. As we have seen already in other cases, Soyoung felt that she could not leave her newborn baby to a stranger in a childcare centre. She believes that her mother-in-law is the best carer for her child. During the first seventeen months of her child, therefore, Soyoung could see her daughter only at weekends.

Some mothers could not see their children even once a week. For instance, Jinee (in chapter 7) said that she had to travel 5-6 hours on single journey to where her child was. Travelling such a long way every week is indeed hard for working mothers as well as fathers under the condition of 6 days work per week. As a consequence, often the frequency of visits would be reduced to twice or once a month, so that they could hardly be even weekend parents. Together with the educational needs of her child, this difficulty pushed Jinee to change the way of using family members to 'temporary cohabitation'.

Certainly the geographical distance made many mothers give up using family members for childcare, even though they thought it was the best care arrangement for their children. However, despite the difficulties, as we have seen so far, there were many cases of using family members by changing their external constraints. By merging two households, becoming a weekend mother or moving nearby, mothers enhanced the accessibility of their familial resources. According to studies on childcare usage, it is often proved that there is a positive relationship between mutigenerational living arrangement and the usage of familial care (McCartney *et al*, 2003; Chen, Short and Entwisle, 2000; KIHASA, 1996; Suh, B-S., 1995; Lee, M-H., 1993). That is, households which consist of three generations have a high probability of using familial care. My study does not disapprove this argument. However, mothers in my study challenge the cause-effect relationship in its basic assumption by showing that they strategically rearranged the household type in order to solve a childcare problem, rather than that they simply used family members because they were living together.

In the sense that the mothers developed various ways of using family members because of what they believed as the most appropriate childcare for their children, they may be seen as similar to the 'innovators' in Hattery's study (2001). According to Hattery, innovators are those who have strong beliefs on parental care and hence create innovative ways of managing work and care, such as opting for shift-work with their partner or working from home. When we consider the social and emotional costs that these mothers have to pay for using familial care – for example, living apart for their children or the uneasiness of living together with their parents (-in-law) - and those family care providers who decided to move or take care of their children for 24 hours,

however, it can be argued that these various forms of familial care arrangements demonstrate how strongly these mothers and their family members attached the beliefs on family, 'the blood-relationship'.

8.3 Arranging individual carers outside the family

Despite the mothers' preference for family members, as we have seen, using the family was not always an available option for the mothers in my study. For those who can afford it, therefore, an individual childcare provider might be another (or second best) option for meeting their children's need for care. In my study, 12 mothers reported that they had employed a nanny and/or a babysitter for caring for their young children in the past and five of them were still doing so when I interviewed them. They were mostly middle-class mothers who were relatively affluent in their financial resources but who were less likely to have family resources for various reasons. However, there were five working-class mothers in this twelve. This section looks at these mothers who had experience of using individual carers outside the family boundary. Therefore, this section focuses on two different groups of mothers in terms of socio-economic background but who are using the same childcare arrangement.

Using a professional nanny: middle-class

As we have seen in the previous chapter, some professional working mothers, like Yujin and Surhee in chapter 7, employed a co-resident nanny for their children throughout their motherhood. Considering its cost, employing a co-resident nanny is a very limited option available only to mothers with a high family income. In my study only 4 mothers have experience of living together with a nanny, and three of them still live with the co-resident nanny. They are indeed the most affluent among mothers in my study in their financial resources. Furthermore these mothers are working no less than their husbands and hence they have an absolute lack of time for staying at home with their children. Even though they currently use childcare centres for their children, therefore, the nanny still stays for helping with the housework as well as caring for the

children at home. This type of individual childcare has been examined in the previous chapter, thus I do not intend to discuss arranging co-resident nanny further.

While the busiest mothers with professional jobs in my study were likely to arrange a co-resident nanny for their children if they were not able to mobilise their family members, mothers with more time-flexibility showed a slightly different type of individual care arrangement. Instead of living together with a nanny, they arranged an individual childcare provider for the day-time during weekdays only.

Lim is a thirty-one-year-old full-time married university lecturer who has a two-year-old son. After she got a full-time lectureship in a university, Lim arranged a nanny through the YWCA.

"I had no one I could rely on. You see, all my extended family members lived in Seoul but me. Of course, my mother helped me for childcare whenever I went to Seoul for my study or for other businesses but basically she had her job, so I could not rely on her... and... I could not ask her sacrifice again. She was just emancipated from her own caring responsibility and was establishing her own life in her late age. I could not ask her..... For my mother-in-law, she did not want to take care of her grandchild. She is a full-time housewife, but she thinks children should stay with their own parents.... I employed my current nanny when I got this full-time lectureship. My parents-in-law recommended me to use a nanny and I did not want to send my child to a childcare centre too early. Though employing the nanny costs me more, I think being cared for at home is better for him. When he becomes three years old, I will probably think of sending him to a childcare centre as he needs friends and stimulation. Some send their children to childcare centres earlier, but I cannot feel easy about sending him to a childcare centre until he can communicate with others well and use toilet." (Lim)

In the above testimony, Lim provides several reasons for her decision to arrange her current childcare with the non-resident nanny. Lim firstly points out the lack of her familial resources for solving her childcare problem. As she said, her mother is busy at work, and her mother-in-law does not want to take care of her grandchild. Furthermore, they all live in other county. Secondly, Lim expresses that she does not like to ask her mother's sacrifice for solving her childcare problem. Similar to what Heejin felt, handing over childcare responsibility to her parents is not considered as the right thing to do by Lim. Thirdly, as most mothers in my study, Lim thinks that using collective childcare is not a proper care arrangement for very young children. Staying at home

with an individual carer is what she thinks is the best alternative care for her young child. For these reasons, therefore, Lim decided to arrange a nanny.

"I think, it's better to find a nanny through an informal network (among whom she knew already). But I did not know anyone in Chungjoo (where she moved after getting married). Thus I asked the YWCA and they sent a young woman first. She was good, she kept my kid and house clean but seems she had a strong character, which I did not like.... Our current nanny was the second person I interviewed. She is bit old, but has no family except her adult son. Furthermore, she is a sincere Christian. Although she is not so diligent, she is nice. [Does she stay with your family?] No, she is a visiting nanny. For three days per week, I go out to work at 8 or 9 o'clock. Thus she (nanny) comes early in the morning. But for the other two days, I can stay home longer and spend the morning with my child. We go to the market or play together. Thus our nanny comes around 11 o'clock in the morning for those two days. In the afternoon, I try to finish work by 5 so that our nanny can go home around 6 o'clock. [How about weekends?] She does not come on Saturdays and Sundays. When I have a lecture on a Saturday afternoon, my husband looks after my son."(Lim)

In comparison with the above mothers who employed a co-resident nanny, Lim has more flexible time in her everyday life and hence she does not feel the necessity to find someone replacing herself as entirely as the previous mothers might feel. In addition, Lim's husband, an employed medical doctor, is more likely to participate in the childcare than in the cases of previous mothers. Though his share is only a small part of the total childcare, Lim's husband plays an important role in Lim's weekend childcare strategy. Although she was not able to mobilise her extended familial resources for childcare, these two factors, i.e. her time flexibility and her husband's help enable Lim to manage motherhood and work with using a nanny for daytime only.

Sue is a full-time music teacher working at a primary school in a satellite city of Seoul. She and her husband, a middle-level manager, have two children aged one and four. Sue's family lives with her parent-in-law for childcare reasons. She explained that she moved into her parents-in-law's home about a year ago and currently her mother-in-law takes care of her second child, while her first one goes to a childcare centre. Before she moved into her parent-in-law's house, a visiting nanny had been employed as the main substitute for mother care.

"Because there was nobody to help me, it was so hard to care for my child by myself. Though my mother-in-law was available, she lived far from my house...about an hour by car.... and I could not drive. Furthermore, because I worked only a few hours, I did not want to ask my mother-in-law.... Anyway it was not a kind of situation where I could rely on my mother-in-law. Instead, I decided to ask my next-door neighbour. We were very close and I liked her. But the problem was that my child did not like staying at her house. So I called a babysitter. To use a babysitter for the whole day would cost me a lot, but I needed only 3-4 hours per day. Thus it was good enough for me."(Sue)

Although her mother-in-law was available for childcare as well, Sue said she did not like to rely on her mother-in-law for childcare as long as she could manage by herself. In those days, Sue had one child only and was not a full-time worker. She worked only for a few hours per day at a kindergarten as a music teacher and was doing a night-time course for her Masters degree. Without depending on her parents-in-law, Sue was able to manage motherhood and work. For her part-time work in the afternoon, she used a visiting nanny and her husband took care of her child when she went out to her school at night. After Sue became a mother of two children and a full-time worker, however, she decided to move into her parents-in-law's house because of her increased childcare needs. Compared with the above mothers who use a co-resident nanny, Lim and Sue have more flexibility in using their time and their husbands are also more visible in their childcare strategy.

Arranging a neighbour: working-class

Even though using an individual child carer is a rather expensive way of solving a childcare problem, it was not an exclusive arrangement for middle-class mothers only. Mothers who have working-class backgrounds also arranged an individual carer for their children. In the case of working-class mothers, however, the main reason of using informal childcare has been explained by the lack of childcare service for infants.

Youngran is one of the mothers who arranged a neighbour as a main childcare provider when her second child was born. Youngran is a thirty-three-year-old married mother of two children aged five and two. She and her husband run a small restaurant in an office area in Seoul. In order to reduce running cost in their business, Youngran and her husband have tried not to employ extra workers. As a consequence, Youngran shares a

large proportion of the work outside the home as well as inside. When I interviewed her, Youngran was using a childcare centre for her two children and did not combine this with any other supplementary care. Youngran and her husband both go out to work together in the morning and take their children to the childcare centre. In the afternoon, Youngran comes back home earlier than her husband, in order to collect the children from the childcare centre. While her husband does the rest of work at the restaurant, Yongran prepares dinner and does the housework as well as looking after the children at home. Her husband does not participate in housework or children-related work as much as Youngran does work outside the home. In answer to my question about her feeling of current sharing with her husband at home, however, she did not express any complaint about it. Youngran, as a family business worker, does not have a clear dichotomy between work outside home and inside home. 'Who does which work' does not seem to have significant meaning to Youngran.

As with most working-class mothers, Youngran is managing work and motherhood without help from anyone else. Her childcare strategy is to use the childcare centre only. In her childcare history, however, she used to arrange for a neighbour to take care of her second child. Because the childcare centre did not accept children aged younger than 6 months, she eventually arranged an individual care provider through her informal network.

"*When I had my daughter (her first child), we ran a billiard saloon. It was spacious and had a room in a corner, I could work looking after my kid. Sometimes I put her on my back or down behind the counter. It's not a hard work, you see, receiving money and selling drinks, that's all. However, running the restaurant was not the same as the billiard saloon. It's just impossible to work and care at the same time in such a small place. Furthermore, the restaurant with extremely crowed at lunch or teatime, you see. Thus I decided to send my children to a childcare centre. But they only accepted my first kid. They did not accept my son. He was too young. Until he became 6 months old, I had to find someone for him. That's why I arranged my neighbour for my second child. She is my friend's mother."(Youngran)*

Similar to Youngran, Yoenmi, a thirty-nine-year-old lone mother who is working as a housework helper, also reported that she could not find a childcare centre for her second child.

"My husband did not look after the family. He hardly came home and did not bring money at all. So I had to go out for work. I could have sent my first daughter to a childcare centre, but there were no facilities which accepted my second child those days. As I remember, there was a private childcare centre for infants, but it was too expensive. Instead I found a childminder through an acquaintance. I went out for work at a restaurant early in the morning and usually came back home around 11 at night... I paid her more than half of my earnings. There was nothing left in my hand... but I still had to work."(Yoenmi)

For most working-class mothers, using a childcare centre is often considered as the only affordable arrangement for solving their childcare problem. As discussed in chapter 6, lone mothers or low-income families can use a childcare centre free of charge or at a reduced price. However, there were five working-class mothers including Youngran and Yoenmi who had arranged an individual childcare provider at some point in their early motherhood, and the main reason for this, according to the mothers' explanations, was the lack of childcare provisions for the infants[3]. If they had had another income source that they could have relied on, these mothers could have decided to take a break until their children became old enough to go to the childcare centre. However, lone mothers or self-employed mothers can hardly move out of the labour market. As Yoenmi mentioned, even though it costs more than half of their monthly income, they are compelled to arrange an individual care provider until their children reach the eligible age for using the childcare centre.

Although all mothers in this section are similar to each other in the types of their childcare arrangement, the processes of arranging nannies is different for the middle-class and the working-class mothers. Middle-class mothers are likely to use either an organisation or their personal network in order to get information on nannies, especially a professional nanny. As was in Yujin's case in chapter 7, they can get enough information from the previous users before they arrange someone. In the case of using an organisation, they can have the chances to negotiate or choose among several nannies, as we have seen in Lim's case. Through this procedure, mothers can control the quality of nanny to some extent. However, the similar procedure is hardly found

[3] According to national statistics in 2004 (www.moge.go.kr), the number of places in childcare centre, including *Arineejip* and *Noribang*, for children under age 2 was around 12 percent of total number of place for children 0-6. The situation would be much worse when I interviewed them in 2000 than the present.

among working-class mothers in my study. Since they can not pay for good care, working-class mothers do not have many options. Usually they search for nannies among their neighbours within their social classes and often the nannies do not have much experience of childcare except that of rearing their own children. As a consequence, it often appears that the degree of satisfaction about the care provided by individual carers from this informal network is lower than in the case of middle-class mothers. For instance, Chongsoo, a forty-two-year-old lone mother who is a part-time waitress with two children aged eleven and six, said,

"The best is their own mother. Children should be cared by their own mother.. or... relatives.. if mothers cannot. But no one outside the blood relationship.... Did I tell you my son (her second child) lived in a nanny's house for several months? Since I had to do night time work at that time, I sent him to her house. [Do you mean 24hours care?] Yes. He lived with the woman and I visited her house sometimes to see my son. Thus I know well about the care provided by others like.....Before giving him some food, she (her nanny) should have washed my son's hands but she did not. That's why my son was often ill. Furthermore she did not pay enough attention to my son, so my son had accidents often at the playground, on the stairs or inside the house." (Chongsoo)

While middle-class mothers emphasised the good aspects of using nannies or babysitters, working-class mothers seldom did so.

In this section we have looked at mothers who arranged individual care outside the family. Thirteen out of 49 mothers I interviewed were the same in a sense that they had experience of arranging an individual childcare provider outside the family boundary at some point in their motherhood. However, the mothers' explanation about the main reason for arranging the individual care provider was not the same, as we have seen. In addition, the process of arranging an individual carer and the quality of and the satisfactions about the care supplied were also different from each other. Together with the findings from the previous section such as the mothers' different expectations towards and views on different types of childcare, this evidence indicates the necessity of divergent policy approaches in supporting working mothers. I will come back to this issue in the following chapter.

8.4 Conclusion

Providing further analysis of the processes of arranging childcare, this section reveals reasons and ways of using familial care as well as other individual childcare providers outside the family boundary. In spite of the high usage of collective childcare as the current form (see chapter 4), the women I interviewed clearly show that they still have strong preferences for individual types of childcare, particularly the care provided by their family members, at least for the first few months or years of their children's lives. As we explored in the first section, this on-going phenomenon can be said to be a reflection of the current childcare situation such as poor quality of institutional childcare facilities, and more importantly, of the strong belief in their family members as the most trusty childcare providers. Even if mothers have to pay the emotional or social costs in using familial care as a consequence, they continue to prefer using family members. As the whole picture of mothers' everyday practice has revealed during the interview, in addition, it has became clear that formal/collective childcare alone cannot fulfil working mothers' needs nor children's. They still need supplementary care even though their children are going to a childcare centre or to the school, in order to compensate for the inflexibility of institutional care, such as school hours, and also in order to respond to their children's physical, emotional, social and educational needs.

Combining all the findings from the interview data, the following chapter summarises and discusses in the light of theories and current policy debates in Korea.

Chapter 9
Discussions and Conclusion

As is discussed in the introduction chapter, the social policy literature on East Asian countries in general and on Korea in particular have not paid much attention to how care is organised. Neither have feminist scholars in Korea disentangled how women's experience differs from one to another. Given the limitation of current literature, gaining a better understanding of women's work and the motherhood reconciliation process in the Korean context was set as the main aim of this study. The key research question is 'how do women in Korea reconcile work and motherhood?' Through examining Korean working mothers' everyday practice in different socioeconomic backgrounds, this study is particularly concerned on Korean women's divergent experiences and also on the family role in mothers' reconciliation process. As the main outcome of the process, both employment and childcare arrangements have been examined. Through the intensive research design, this study has also investigated mothers' understanding about their earning and caring role. This chapter summarises the key findings, along with discussions in the light of theory and current policy debates.

9.1 Diversity in women's experience

The divergent experience of working mothers in Korea has been set as one of the main themes of this study. As we have seen throughout the previous chapters, indeed, many differences as well as similarities in Korean mothers' reconciliation have been found in both the process and in its outcome. This section summarises the key findings focusing on the following dimensions: employment response, childcare arrangement and ideological construction about motherhood. Due to the significance of individual resources in the Korean context where the state plays a minimal role in supporting working mothers, the reconciliation outcomes varied according to their class background. In addition, it was also expected that the work and care strategies of lone

mothers would differ from those of married mothers, since they are forced to work for their living due to the loss of the male breadwinner, while they tend to have fewer resources to mobilise for sharing their childcare responsibilities (Moon, H-S. and Kim, D-S., 2000; Huh, J-W. and Oak, S-H., 1998; Choi, H-K., 1997). However, since lone mothers are mainly concentrated in low-income, unskilled manual jobs in my sample, the differences of family types often overlapped with the characteristics of class.

Employment response

The women I interviewed were working mothers with at least one pre-school child aged 0-6. Although six mothers had moved out of the labour market for childcare reasons at the time of the interviews, their current break was seen as one way of combining both work and motherhood in the long-term perspective. With regard to the employment aspect, there are four types of employment practiced by the women I interviewed. The first type is to leave labour market at some point in their lives. This is regarded as the typical female employment pattern in Korea where family and women are expected to be primary care providers without much help from the state (Sung, S., 2003). As one would expect, indeed, the majority of mothers in my study have experienced taking breaks at least once during their working lives. The 'breaks in employment' is found across all classes and occupations but more commonly among entry-level workers, whose employment status is not affected too negatively by temporary leaving of the labour market.

The second type refers to decreasing the hours of employment. In some European countries such as the UK (Skinner, 2005) or the Netherlands (Pfau-Effinger, 2004), working part-time is the most popular work and motherhood arrangement. However, in Korea this seems not to be the case. Even though the growth of sales and the service industry in the Korean economy has brought more flexible working hours than before, this often means working at inconvenient times with temporary contracts (Gwen, H-J., 1999; Chang, G-Y., 2001). The proportion of part-time workers who work less than 36 hours per week constantly remains low in Korea (table 6.1). Some mothers in this study were able to get more time to devote themselves to their family responsibility by

reducing their hours of work, but they were mainly concentrated on certain types of job which allowed them flexibility.

Thirdly, changing in the place of work is also one of the strategies that mothers in this study choose to combine work with motherhood. 'Working from home' is often regarded as a way of enhancing autonomy as well as flexibility. However, this kind of employment flexibility is again not always available. Furthermore, in many cases, it is highly labour intensive and poorly paid (Kim, T-Y. and Moon, M-G., 1997). Thus this type of work is not always ideal, as mothers claimed in chapter 6. Nevertheless, the belief of 'being there' with their children emerged strongly as the main justification for choosing this type of employment. Mothers in this group tended to believe in the 'stay at home' mother who always can 'be there' with her children.

The final type relates to those mothers who did not choose any of the above employment responses throughout their motherhood. As we have seen in chapter 7, there were a significant minority of mothers who kept their employment without any visible changes. This final type may not be regarded as a response or a strategy at all, since full-time work without break has been, so far, regarded as the norm of employment from the earner aspect. However, when we include motherhood and consider the most popular types of female employment patterns in Korea, i.e. taking breaks, this could well be regarded as one type of employment response. In addition, one mother in my study expressed her fear of being promoted at work which is an example of Glover's argument (2002) that women may also engage in certain process of reconciliation between work and motherhood by deciding 'not to increase' their work commitment.

Although four types of reconciliation are identified here, this does not mean that women practice or plan only one of those reconciliation strategies. Rather, a mother can adopt several types of strategy at different times during her motherhood. For instance, many of the part-time workers in the study already have experienced breaks and/or working from home in the past. Furthermore, a significant proportion of mothers had breaks not only once but multiple times. Just as Garey (1999) found from

American working mothers, the Korean working mothers in this study also show that they created various reconciliation patterns over their life time.

In general, it can be argued that certain groups of women are more likely to be found in a particular employment strategy. For instance, breaks in employment are more likely to be adopted by working-class, rather than middle-class mothers, when their children are babies. Middle-class mothers, in contrast, tend to remain in the labour market without any visible changes in their employment. This result may fit in with what one would expect, given the relatively fewer resources and choices for childcare among working-class mothers in comparison with their middle-class counterparts. Indeed, middle-class mothers have more resources to mobilise for childcare, including maternity leave policies in their place of work, and financial as well as familial resources. In contrast, working-class mothers have difficulties to secure their place of work due to the non-existence of a maternity leave policy as well as any other individual resources. However, as I have argued in chapter 5, the decision of mothers to reduce their work commitment was not necessarily justified by their external constraints such as lack of childcare provisions or childcare cost. Instead, mothers' reconciliation turned out to be a far more complicated process, in which various elements including their view on motherhood and on their children's needs, and their job characteristics as well as their health condition are intertwined with each other. Subsequently, both working-class and middle-class mothers are found in all types of employment response.

Lone mothers who are the solo breadwinners in their family, however, mainly concentrate into part-time work (type 2). For them, the earning aspect is much more emphasised than the caring aspect of motherhood. Unlike their counterparts with spouses, taking time out of work cannot be an option for their work and motherhood strategy. In order to fulfil their children's need, they have to work, and hence employment is the pivotal part of their role of mother. Comparing before and after the separation, especially, it turns out that 'becoming a lone mother' actually led them into the labour market. Many of the lone mothers in the study were full-time housewives when they were married mothers. Some of them did not want to work at that time because they had been working since the early years. The others said that

their husbands did not allow them to work. However, as they became lone mothers by their husbands' death, divorce or separation, all of them entered into or resumed economic activity for their living. This finding is similar to those found in a quantitative study on Korean lone mothers who are divorced. Chang, H-K. and Min, G-Y., (2002) found that only half of the lone mothers in their sample (total size of 127) were working before they became lone mothers. However, this proportion rises to 90 per cent after divorce. Although lone mothers are involved in economic activity, however, this does not mean that they could run a self-sufficient family in terms of finance. Lone mothers in my study were mostly depending on the government's income support. As is shown, they only could find a job in sales and service sector or manufacturing sector with hourly wage, unless they had marketable skills. Due to the caring responsibility, furthermore, they could not increase their hours of work.

Dissimilarities among the women I interviewed in their employment strategy more clearly emerge when we look at mothers' reconciliation processes rather than the actual outcomes of the reconciliation. When we compare working-class and middle-class mothers in the same employment pattern, middle-class mothers are more likely to conceptualise their decision to rearrange their employment in terms of their views about their children's needs and their ideal of motherhood. As we have seen in chapter 5, for instance, they express the personal wish to have time with their own children in order to build a stable relationship with their newborn baby and to fulfil their ideals of motherhood. In addition, they also stress the need to be available to meet various needs from their children, including social, psychological, emotional and educational needs for their children. On the contrary, most working-class mothers express a similar version of the statement 'there was no other option available for me apart from what I have chosen', even though they also perceive their children's needs in the same ways as their middle-class counterparts.

These findings from the mother's reconciliation process indicate that there are significant variations in the extent to which mothers are compelled or have choices to act. In each type of employment, in fact, mothers were divided into either voluntary or involuntary groups. That is, some mothers deliberately chose to become temporary full-time mothers or part-time workers or stay at work. Others were doing so rather

involuntarily. In the latter cases, external constraints such as familial, financial as well as occupational resources forced them to do so. In the former cases, their ideological position towards motherhood and childcare, i.e. what a mother should do, how children ought to be cared, more strongly affected their decision with regard to their work. This result suggests that external constraints affected the extent to which mothers' personal attitudes influenced their employment choices.

Childcare arrangement

While the mothers are rearranging the employment side, they must also consider how to solve the childcare problem. The majority of mothers in this study, whether working full-time or part-time or working from home, found it necessary to rely regularly on at least one other individual or organisation to care for their children. The typical pattern of regular childcare arrangement over the early years of childhood was an individual/one-to-one type of childcare for the first several months or years, followed by collective institutional childcare. Mothers perceived that their children's needs changed over time according to their developmental stage. When children are very young, for instance, intensive care based on love is regarded as essential. As children grow up, however, childcare arrangements take a pedagogical direction since mothers see their children's social and educational needs as paramount.

Although most mothers share the same pattern of childcare arrangement, there are some differences among different groups of mothers, firstly, in their early arrangement (individual types) for regular childcare. For most working-class mothers, they themselves usually take care of their children during the first few months or years of the early childhood before they enrol their children to a collective childcare centre. On the other hand, middle-class mothers more often rely on their family members (mostly grandmother) and/or employ a babysitter/nanny after maternity leave but before they arrange collective childcare centre for their children. Especially the high usage of the extended family as the main childcare provider amongst middle-class mothers is the main difference from working-class mothers in their childcare strategy. As a consequence, middle-class mothers tend to arrange collective childcare at a later age of their children than their counterparts.

Similar to the main form of childcare arrangement, dissimilarities between working- and middle-classes are even clearer when we broaden our perspective on the whole network of care for children including the main forms of care and regular/irregular 'supplementary' care. That is, it is common for working-class mothers not to have back-up care on a regular basis. On the contrary, most middle-class mothers in my study tried to compensate for the lack of adequate institutional services in various ways. As the most popular solution, they relied on supplementary care provided by relatives, mainly grandmothers, to cover a part of their childcare needs. Other mothers in the middle-class, particularly professional working mothers, have employed a nanny/babysitter along with a collective childcare centre as the main form of childcare arrangement. As a consequence, working-class mothers have the simplest care network which consists of institutional collective childcare only. For the middle-class mothers, in contrast, their care network is multifaceted with various resources including grandmother, sister/sister-in-law, neighbour, nanny, private tutor, babysitter along with the collective childcare as the main form of caring.

For the lone mothers, the childcare strategy is pretty much the same as that of the working-class married mothers. That is, they have only institutional childcare as the main form of childcare without any other supplementary care. Unlike their counterparts, however, most of the lone mothers (apart from two middle-class mothers) relied on state support for childcare services. They used the public childcare centres free of charge since they were low-income lone mothers. Many of those lone mothers in this study suggested that they were pleased with this government support because they found those services are as good as or in some cases better than what they themselves might provide. Nevertheless, the centres were not sufficient to fulfil the care needs of lone mothers due to the inflexibility of those institutions and hence the mothers were still in need of supplementary care. Since there was no other adult in their household or extended family members who could be mobilised, it is often the case that they either left their children alone or let their older children look after their younger siblings.

This difference in their childcare network of women suggests that working-class mothers including lone mothers are constrained by not only the lack of financial

resources but also the limitation of the pool of friends and relatives to help out in these circumstances. As a consequence, we can see clear division of 'care poor' and 'care rich' along the line of class division. This double shortage in their childcare resources for working-class mothers leads to very different processes and outcomes of reconciling their childcare responsibility with regard to their labour market behaviour.

According to class differences and family type differences, therefore, three different care arrangements can be categorised: solo breadwinner/state-caregiver model which is primarily the low-income lone mothers' solution; dual earner/ family (or individual)-caregiver model, which is primarily the middle-class solution, combined with other collective forms of care for the social or educational needs of their children; dual earner/market-caregiver model, which is the most popular among working-class mothers in my study. But in this last case, the mother's employment is much more unsustainable. This divergence of care arrangement in working mothers' everyday lives implies the relative importance of state policy in shaping women's experience of employment and motherhood. Apart from low-income lone mothers, the state's intervention has not been observed. Subsequently managing work and motherhood for Korean women is, as I have predicted, heavily dependent on their individual resources including financial and familial as well as occupational.

Earning and caring: ideological adjustment

Along with the above two aspects of mothers' reconciliation outcomes in a practical dimension, I have also addressed question of how their understanding of their situations transforms the ideological assumptions about what a good mother is supposed to do. As one of ideological adjustment, they might develop a new idea of good mothering. All mothers in my study see taking care of their children as a first responsibility when being a good mother is a central part of their identity. However, 'how this responsibility should be discharged' and 'what a good mother is' are seen in different ways by different groups of mothers. Using the term from Duncan and Edwards (1997, 1999), firstly, 'mother/worker integral view' can be found from the mothers I interviewed. Especially for working-class and lone mothers, employment was not necessarily incompatible with the idea of being a good mother after the infant

period of their children. Instead, earning is seen as a part of fulfilling their motherhood as it enables them to provide more for their children and help their children to fulfil their social and educational needs. Their employment is likely to be conceptualised for the benefit of their children rather than for themselves, thus motherhood and employment were not seen as mutually exclusive. For lone mothers, in particular, earning is perceived as the main part of practicing their motherhood given the lack of financial support from either state or family.

Unlike the lone mothers or working-class mothers who conceptualised their earning role as a part of practicing their motherhood, employment is not integrated into their role of mother in the same way for professional working mothers. Quite the contrary, their work seems to be very much separated from their role of mother. They conceptualised the meaning and value of work as the source of the self-development of their personal identity, but not as a way of fulfilling their motherhood, albeit they see some positive aspects of having a career for their children. Instead of having an integrated view of motherhood with work, these mothers were developing new ideas of motherhood by re-conceptualising the caring aspects of motherhood. For them, the mother is not the primary person who gives direct care for the children. Rather 'mother' is defined as the person who coordinates and manages the needs and resources for the child.

Reconstructing either side of earning or caring of motherhood is observed among working-class mothers and middle-class mothers with professional occupations. However, not all mothers adopt an attitudinal adjustment by developing or changing their ideology about motherhood. For those who have intermediate professional jobs, in particular, two dimensions of motherhood reveal much more conflict. On the one hand, this middle cluster of mothers did not appear to emphasise their identity as worker as strongly as the professional working mothers. In other words, the meaning and value of work were not clearly conceptualised with self-achievement or self-fulfilment. On the other hand, neither is the financial necessity of their employment as strong as is for working-class mothers. In order to keep their standard of living, of course, their income might be necessary and in fact the majority of intermediate professional mothers emphasised the economic aspects of their employment. In

comparison with working-class mothers, however, it could be suggested that their income is not as indispensable for their families. As a consequence, their earning role cannot be integrated into their motherhood as thoroughly as their working-class counterparts. Holding the conventional belief in intensive motherhood, instead, these mothers appear to be hovering endlessly between work and motherhood.

In chapter 2, we have discussed structural and attitudinal explanations of mother's decision-making. Within the strong tradition of a structural approach, I have argued personal ideologies and attitudes would provide a much more comprehensive understanding about mothers' reconciliation process. Through examining Korean mothers' reconciliation processes and their actual outcomes, mothers were found that they have both internal and external constraints on their decisions. As we have seen, mothers' employment strategies are influenced by their beliefs about motherhood and also by their employment status and financial conditions. In their childcare arrangements, mothers are constrained by available resources to a large extent. But also their view on motherhood and their children's needs operate significantly in the mothers' choices and particular combinations of different childcare types. However, class differences which appeared strongly in this study illuminate how external circumstances and personal attitudes are related each other in the mothers' decision-making. As American studies on mothers' childcare choices have highlighted (Pungello and Kurtz-Costes, 2000; Peyton et al., 2001, cited in Himmelweit and Sigala, 2004), a significant relationship between personal attitudes and mothers' behaviour is more likely to be observed when there are no external constraints. In other words, external constraints affect the degree to which personal attitudes can explain mothers' choices.

9.2 Reconciling work and motherhood in the Korean context

As we have seen in the previous section, the integral view on mothers' reconciliation process which combines both external and internal factors can provide much deeper understanding about how mothers reconcile work and care. However, the evidence in

this study suggests that it is still only a partial explanation for those who are practising their motherhood in the Korean context, since there are further aspects that appeared to be significant from the women I interviewed.

Supporting children's education: an important but overlooked aspect of Korean motherhood

The evidence in my study shows that one of the core questions that mothers - regardless of their personal preference about their life or identity - ask in their reconciliation process is about their children's needs and about 'what forms of care and attention does my child need?' In particular, this study identifies a hidden factor that can also be included to understand better how these mothers reconcile work and motherhood. It is their concern about the educational needs of their children. It strongly appeared during the interviews, almost all mothers in this study felt much pressure on their responsibility for fulfilling their children's educational needs, especially when their children were getting close to school age. Along with the children's emotional and social needs, as a consequence, the educational needs of their children appeared to have a considerable influence on mothers' reconciliation processes and outcomes.

The significance of education in the Korean context is well documented already. Studies on East Asian welfare regime, both Confucian and productivist explanations, have noticed the high public expenditure on education in Korean welfare regime where there is strong orientation towards strategic human capital formation (Holliday, 2005; Rieger and Leibfried, 2003). In the individual household level, as is discussed in chapter 3, helping their children to achieve good academic results at school and to enter good universities has become a 'family project', since education is regarded as the way of upgrading or preserving the class of the family as well as for family welfare (Lee J.-K., 2003). As Rieger and Leibfried (2003) have correctly pointed out about East Asian countries, the 'high demands for educational goods and the central importance of examinations for access to both higher educational institutions and employment in the public and private sector led to a broad supply of non-state schools,

educational institutions and tutoring programmes' in Korea (ibid.: 267). It is common for individual families to purchases educational services for their children through the private market and it takes up a large proportion of household expenditure. According to the annual report on the household income and expenditure survey in Korea (KNSO, 2001b), a wage earning household in urban areas spent about 11 percent of its monthly expenditure on education, which is the third largest following food (28%) and transportation/communication (16 %).[1]

Despite this well known significance of education in the Korean context, surprisingly there has been very little knowledge about its relationship with mothers' reconciliation, apart from being recognised as one of the factors pushing married women into the labour market (e.g. Hwang S.-K., 2003). The evidence in my study highlights, however, that educational needs perceived by mothers operate in dual directions. As is often assumed, firstly, children's educational needs may lead mothers into the labour market, since they need extra income in order to give their children more learning opportunities through arranging private extra-curricular activities. However, children's educational needs also lead other mothers to move out of the labour market in order to support their children by being an involved mother through supervising homework, providing transport to and from extracurricular activities, and attending various school events with their children. In short, supporting children's educational need can be both *pull* and *push* factors for mothers in relation to their labour market participation behaviour and it may partly explain the lowest labour force participation rate among women in the 30-34 years age group (chapter3), together with late marriage and delayed childbirth.

Throughout this study, motherhood has been approached from a dual perspective, i.e. earning and caring. However, the significance of education in the Korean context in general and in mothers' reconciliation process in particular illuminates one further possible aspect of motherhood, or at least another component of caring. Although the outcomes may differ from one another, most mothers strongly feel that education for

[1] This data however does not show whether the expenditure on education is only for children. Considering life-long learning trend, this may also include educational cost for adult members in a household as well as for children.

their children is the pivotal part of their parental responsibility. In some cases, their practice of motherhood is mainly concentrated on this educational aspect of motherhood. Contrary to what is often assumed, in addition, this evidence also suggests that managing work and motherhood does not simply become easier as children grow older. Rather, as Duncan and Strell (2004) have also pointed out, motherhood and parental responsibilities keep changing over time, together with the needs of children. As a consequence, reconciliation between work and motherhood is not merely related to the early stage of motherhood, but is a much more long-term process.

Reconciliation within the extended family network

By adding this one further aspect of mothers' responsibilities, we now can have a better understanding about Korean working mothers' reconciliation process. Yet, this seems not enough unless we enlarge our perspective beyond focusing on individual mothers, since there is more than one participant who is engaged in this individual mother's reconciliation process. Firstly of all, there are 'children' themselves, who must be considered in the reconciliation process. In many studies on maternal employment, children have been simply regarded as constraints for women's employment. However, the evidence in this study suggests that children themselves can be active participants in their mothers' reconciliation process by making their opinion known either verbally and non-verbally regarding their mother's combination of work and care. As is shown throughout the previous chapters, for instance, some mothers had to change their arrangement for work and care due to their children's dislike or preference. In addition, some mothers' accounts of their children's view on their dual life as working mothers, and their effort to make their children understand them also indicate that children are not just objects or simply constraints to mothers' taking up paid work.

Another participant who influences mothers' reconciliation process between work and care is the husband. It is relatively well known that husbands are deeply engaged in married mother's reconciliation process between work and care, especially in a Korean society that has a strong patriarchal legacy (Kim, K.-A., 1999). In chapter 6,

for instance, we have seen some mothers who have had to change jobs or stop work due to their husbands' disagreement. Even if husbands might not stop their wife's economic activity, they also influenced individual mother's decision about the way of organising care and work, by expressing their own view about how the children have to be cared for. It should be noted, however, that this does not mean that the husband is an active participant in providing childcare in practical terms as well. They are active participants in working mother's reconciliation process but they hardly involve themselves as a significant resource in the mothers' practical strategy. As I have mentioned in earlier chapters, there is little evidence to show any significant changes in the participation of husbands into childcare and domestic work. Even if men might be doing more in the home than their previous generation, the evidence of my study highlights that husbands get involved in caring work *only* when other resources for childcare are not available.

While husbands can be active participants in the Korean mothers' reconciliation process as constraints rather than as resources, there is strong evidence in this study that parents (-in-law) can be active participants, both in the reconciliation process and its outcome, as main resources for childcare. As we have seen in chapter 7 and 8, parents (-in-law) often become the main source of childcare for working mothers (mainly for middle-class), and in most cases mothers turned first to their family members for help. As a consequence, working mothers' decisions about 'whether they keep work or not' and 'whether they have (another) baby or not' are often made through negotiation with their parents or parents-in-law. With regard to parents-in-law, however, my study also suggests that the extended family network is not only an important resource but also a significant constraint in mother's reconciliation between work and care. In chapter 5 and 7, we have seen some mothers who had a difficult time because of their parents-in-law's negative attitude towards their employment. Due to married women's role as daughter-in-law and their subordinated position in their husband's family, they needed to justify their decision within the extended family network and had to get agreement from their parents-in-law. For instance, their employment has to be justified not by their strong commitment towards work, but by their strong commitment to the role as mother and as daughter-in-law, which has to bring some benefit for whole family. For married women in Korea, thus, how to

manage work and motherhood is not something that mothers can decide according to their preference/commitment or individual economic needs only. Rather the whole decision-making process often occurs within the extended family network since the extended family can be the key resource and also the main constraint. Therefore we may conclude that family solidarity and the women's role and position within the extended family operate as both internal constraints and external resources in individual mother's reconciliation processes and their outcome in the Korean context.

In the introduction chapter, I mentioned feminist studies on women's reconciliation in Korea. In those studies, Confucianism is the core of understanding about state policies related to women and gendered social practice (Sung, S., 2003; Won and Pascal, 2004). Although I agree with several points which were made in those studies including the significance of the extended family, the minimum role of the state in care provision, and gendered practice of work and care reconciliation, I have doubted whether these social practices are all about Confucianism. As I have discussed in chapter 3, it is certainly true that Confucian views on women can help us to understand the social practice of motherhood and gender culture in current Korean society. However, I have argued that the timelessness of Confucian values, which have been the key explanation of gendered practice and policy outcome in Korea, is questionable.

As I expect, there has been a growing discourse about individual rights among Korean women and competing ideologies about women's role and motherhood in Korea (chapter3). In particular, in the case of working-class mothers in my study, their ways of organising childcare or the decision making process had not shown much connection with Confucianism or more specifically 'familial solidarity within the extended family network'. As Sheu (1998) has found in Taiwan's case, strong family solidarity seems to be undermined in current Korean society as well. However, close examination of Korean mothers' reconciliation process in this study has also confirmed that in spite of these changes observed in Korea society, the Confucian tradition on gender role and women's position within the extended family still influence individual mothers' reconciliation process in various ways.

9.3 Familialism: continuities and limits

Heavy reliance on the family in welfare role and its negative implication on gender relation have been recognised as one of characteristics in East Asian welfare regime (White and Goodman, 1998; Jacobs, 1998; Nam, C-S., 2002). However, I have argued that little empirical study has been done on the ways of organising care in respect of the familialist characteristic. Therefore I have set one further aim of my study to examine how the family actually operates in Korean women's everyday practice of their motherhood. Not surprisingly, the findings in this study support that familial resource is central to Korean mothers' reconciliation strategy to combine work and care. Especially, it plays a pivotal role for mothers who successfully manages a dual role "without breaks" in their employment. In comparison with Western experiences such as the UK (Millar and Ridge, 2001; Mitchell and Green, 2002; Wheelock and Jones, 2002), it is much more intensive in its forms and degree. As was seen in chapter 8, there were various forms of familial care mostly provided by grandmothers, and it is more likely to be provided for 24 hours or full-days rather than just to cover a few hours a day or a week. As we have seen so far, this is mainly because of strong preferences for individual types of care especially provided by family members for their infants or toddlers in their consideration about their children's need. This preference is, however, reinforced by cultural belief on 'the family' (blood-relationship) together with the lack of institutional support for childcare.

As I discussed in the introduction chapter, Korean welfare state would not entirely replace the market or family role. Instead, the main direction with regard to welfare provision in Korea is 'welfare pluralism' whereby the responsibility for welfare is sharing among several subjects including central/local government, employers, market as well as the family (Lee, H-K., 2004). There is no explicit responsibility of the family mentioned in the law with regard to childcare. While the state provision mainly targets the needy, employers of large size company are expected to take charge of providing childcare for their employees. For those who are not defined as the needy or who do not work at large companies, however, they have to solve their childcare through the market or family support. As my study has shown, the family, especially

grandmothers, in Korea largely contribute to filling the childcare gap, but there is a question as to whether this intensive role of the family in childcare is sustainable.

As is mentioned, familial resource is already a rather limited option for certain groups of mothers. The family is the main childcare solution for the middle-class mothers, but not for the working-class mothers. Among working-class families, the older generations often have few resources to share and are very likely to be receivers rather than providers of support. Especially the low-income lone mothers have much more difficulties in mobilising their family members for childcare than did the better-off, married mothers. In her study on low income lone parents[2], Choi, H-K., (1997) highlights that almost three quarters of respondents did not receive any support from their extended family or relatives. The remaining one quarter of respondents receive support from their siblings and parents, but mainly emotional rather than instrumental. For working-class and for low-income lone mothers, as a consequence, extended family members were hardly engaged at all in providing childcare. This could be a significant sign of losing faith in family solidarity.

Compared with lower-class mothers, better-off mothers in Korea are more likely to have familial resources available for childcare. This group of mothers is more likely to seek instrumental support from their extended family network. However, it is doubtful whether they can be sure about the availability of familial resources, especially once the current working mother generation becomes the grandmother generation. The rise of post-materialist, individualistic life concepts might push hard these working mothers to remain at work rather than to quit their job for taking care of their grandchildren. Furthermore, there is some evidence that shows that grandmothers' willingness to provide care for their grandchildren is on the wane. As I mentioned in earlier chapters, discourses against providing childcare for their grandchildren are observed among the current grandmother generation. In some cases, they refused to provide childcare. In other cases, grandmothers ended up taking care of their grandchildren rather reluctantly, after a certain period of negotiation. Thus those who successfully manage both work and motherhood with their family support often believed that they were 'lucky'. About half of the mothers in this study have reported

[2] This sample includes 122 lone mothers and lone fathers, but more than 80% is lone mothers.

their willingness to support their children with childcare in the future. However, it does not necessarily mean that they would like to provide direct care. They certainly feel that helping their children in managing work and care is a part of their parental responsibility, if their children have difficulties. However, it was also clear that providing direct care is not what they would like to do, if there was another way to solve it. In particular, they expect a better social environment for working mothers when their children become parents than it is now. In short, the family's capacity and willingness to take one's caring responsibility is, with no doubt, declining in Korea.

9.4 Implications for Korean childcare policy

Current Korean childcare policy can be summarised as the following: *'Taking care of her newborn baby up to 90 days, having additional leave until the baby turns age one, and sending her one-year old child to a childcare centre when she get back to work'.* This is the nationally 'designed' work and motherhood strategy for Korean working mothers which is embedded in current policy. However, as we have witnessed in this study, national regulations cannot always guarantee the designed outcome in its practice. As we have seen in chapters 5 and 7, not all mothers are able to take maternity leave. Even if they could, many of them were not able to take the maximum period, even when it was only 60 days. Only two among 49 mothers used parental leave. Furthermore, there are much more complicated consideration than one would imagine when mothers arrange alternative childcare, as we have seen in the earlier chapters.

Considering the evidence revealed in this study, some conditional statements would be better included in order to deliver currently 'practiced' work and motherhood strategy. That is, firstly, you can take care of your new born baby for up to 90 days, *if* you are lucky to have a generous employer. (If not, you might have to resign or take shorter leave.) Secondly, you (or your spouse) also can ask your (or your spouse's) employer for additional leave for caring your child, *if* you can afford this and do not mind about the negative impact on your career. And finally, you can go back to work after maternity and/or parental leave, *if* you can find a trustable childcare provider as well as manage your dual burden (with other women's help possibly, but certainly without

your husband's help).

Current policy direction towards increasing collective childcare service provision for infants and enhancing the flexibility of service hours in childcare centres may reduce the aforementioned conditions put on working women in managing their work and motherhood. In addition, newly introduced measures and regulations added in the Child Care Act (2004 Amendment) for improving the quality of childcare services such as qualifying childcare workers and evaluating childcare services, might make it easier for mothers to find childcare providers in the formal childcare market. Nevertheless, there seems to be little understanding about the process of women's reconciliation between work and motherhood. Key findings of this study including the divergent experience of working mothers, the complexities of mothers' reconciliation process, mothers' preference for familial care and the limits of the capacity of family to provide childcare suggest how the current policy in Korea can be further complemented.

First of all, the evidence in this study shows that the function of collective institutional care and individual (one-to-one) care is perceived very differently by mothers. They regard institutional collective childcare as one in which their children can have educational opportunity and enhance their sociability through interaction with other children and adults. On the other hand, mothers regard informal types of one-to-one care in the home environment as one that can satisfy children's emotional needs. Although it is true that childcare provision for infants is in great short supply in Korea and hence the state has to enhance the availability of that provision, this different perception towards the collective institutional type of care and the informal types of one-to-one care suggests that increasing the numbers of collective childcare, or introducing several measurements for enhancing the service quality may not always be the answer for future childcare policy in Korea. Rather we need further to investigate the relationship between those two types of childcare in order to find a way of combining them, along with recognising the value of caring work performed by women at home.

Secondly, this study also suggests that the policy approach for helping working

mothers to combine work and care has to be from many different angles, considering different resources and ideologies that individual mothers have. Although both internal and external constraints were intertwined in the mothers' decision making process, the evidence in my study has shown that the working-class mothers were more likely to be constrained in their employment pattern and childcare types by external factors. While a strong relationship between their personal values and their choices are more likely to be found among the middle-class mothers. Therefore, the current childcare policy direction which emphasises the 'availability and quality of formal childcare service' might be effective for working-class mothers but not necessarily for middle-class mothers. Especially, when we consider the mothers with intermediate professional jobs (in chapter 7.2), the right for mothers to fit working time around children without significant damage to their income or career would be helpful to reduce the gap between ideals and reality that those mothers are confronting.

Given the 'welfare pluralism' as the main direction of Korean welfare state (Lee, H-K., 2004), one could argue that the current childcare policy already has taken divergent routes for supporting working mothers. The state's childcare provision mainly targets low-income families, while employers, the family and market are supposed to share the care responsibility for the rest. Although this study has witnessed that the state certainly plays a key role for helping a certain group of mothers to combine work and care, such as low-income lone mothers, the state's support is not sensitive enough to consider the occupational characteristics of its main target group, for example the necessity for childcare during weekends and out of office hours. Furthermore, my study has also shown that the availability of family members is decreasing, and employers are reluctant to take charge of the childcare responsibility. Subsequently, there is a large group of mothers who are not able to get any support from the state, family or employers, but who buy childcare services in the market, which cost a significant proportion of their income. Even though sharing the responsibility between several subjects (private, public and family) might be necessary, the evidence in this study suggests that the state has to take further consideration about the limits of each of these. Furthermore, the inequalities of familial and occupational as well as financial resources that exist among different groups of mothers, has to be considered.

The final point which is largely missing in current debates on childcare policy in Korea is gender inequality in the caring work. This study clearly reveals a gendered outcome and process in mothers' reconciliation between work and care. Firstly, it was the mothers who changed their employment in order to balance work and family, while none of their husbands did so. Secondly, the care responsibility for their children seems to be more often shared between women in different generations and/or in different classes rather than between women and men in the same household. Thirdly, even though the majority of mothers rely on at least one alternative childcare provider, it is still the mother who is constantly engaged in responding to her children's needs in various ways. This gendered characteristic of caring work and its interlinked issues on gender inequality in women's position in the labour market have not been paid attention either by policy makers, or by feminist action groups. For instance, feminist action groups, such as the Korean Women's Association, the Childcare Teachers Association and KWDI, insisted the transformation of the childcare policy paradigm in 2003. But their main request is focused on the 'socialisation of childcare (i.e. the universalist approach, which has been asked for throughout the 1990s)' through further involvement of the state in providing childcare services for all children (not only for the poor), and for increasing the numbers of public childcare centres by up to 50 per cent and for financial support for private childcare centres.

From January 2005, the Ministry of Gender Equality (MOGE) is going to take charge of national childcare policy, which implies that the state has a clear view on childcare issue from the gender perspective. According to the MOGE, equal sharing of caring responsibilities between men and women is one of the indicators of gender-equal society which MOGE envisages, along with equal participation in the labour market, equal representation in politics and equal opportunities in education; 'men and women should share their roles and responsibilities in the family. Parenting, in particular, should be seen not only as a right but also as a duty of all men and women' (http://english.moge.go.kr). Apart from parental leave, however, no other measure or policy (such as 'daddy quota' in Norway) which could be categorised as gender equality model can be found in current childcare policy in Korea. Even though parental leave can be claimed by either father or mother, there have been only a

handful of cases where fathers actually took this leave nationally[3] and no case found in my study. Income replacement for parental leave is designed to be more attractive to both mother and father. However, it seems to be insufficient to compensate for income and certainly is not enough to lead fathers (even mothers) who are supposed to earn more than mothers into caring work for their children.[4] No doubt the recent welfare state extensions will give some benefits to women, but we cannot expect that these will significantly change women's care responsibilities and gender relations. Considering the strong preference for family members as alternative childcare providers and the observed discordance between supply and demand of familial care in this study, it is clear that the government has to develop proactive policy which encourages fathers to take care of their children by making it possible for men to consider working reduced hours for a period.

9.5 Conclusion

Based on the Western experience, maternal employment and their childcare strategy have been explained as a result of individual mothers' reconciliation process between their external resources and internal attitude. However, this study suggests that the analytical focus would be better if it were moved from individual women to the 'family embedment perspective' in explaining and understanding the mothers' reconciliation process and its outcome in the Korean context. Even though the capacity of the family for supporting childcare is diminishing, the findings from this study show that family members are still actively involved in individual mothers' reconciliation process. In particular, for certain groups of mothers (largely in the middle- class), their family is still the key resource for enabling them to combine work with children.

Along with the calls for shifting perspective, this study also adds one further factor which has to be considered in explaining working mothers' reconciliation between

[3] In 2002, only 160 fathers took parental leave, while the number of mothers who were on parental leave in the same year was 7,927. (Work Information Centre, 2002-3, *Monthly Statistics of Employment Insurance*).

[4] The employee on leave is paid 300,000 Won (about £ 150) per month (Lee, H-K., 2004).

work and care; the significance of education for their children. Unlike the previous studies on maternal employment in Korea, this study suggests that children's educational needs can be *both* push and pull factors of Korean working mothers' labour market behaviour, since supporting their children's educational needs does not only imply buying additional education from the market, but also includes time for providing transport, participating in activities with their children, supervising and helping their children with homework. The significance they place on the educational needs of their children also indicates that the meaning of being a good mother goes beyond the carer and earner dichotomy. The evidence from this study suggests that being able to be supportive mothers for their children's learning may also integrated into the mothers' perception of being a good mother, and for some mothers, it might be the most important aspect of their motherhood.

This study examined the divergent experience among women in Korea, which has not been previously considered to any great extent. Although all mothers in my study have been under the same political and cultural influences, their reconciliation strategies are different from one another and hence produce various social practices of motherhood. This divergence partly originates from the different values and attitudes which individual mothers have. However, the class difference which is strongly revealed in mothers' reconciliation outcomes implies that the ways of reconciliation are heavily dependent on the individual resources that each mother can mobilise.

Future research could further develop the key themes of this study. Especially, large scale studies could compare groups of mothers from different class background and occupations. Second, mother's perceptions about the educational needs of their children could be examined in more detail and its relationship with mothers' employment behaviour and with the meaning of being a good mother. Last but not least, the views of children on their mothers' combining work and care could be another focus for further research.

Various sorts of statistical data highlight how far Korean society has been changing and progressing during the last several decades. As is discussed, for instance, more mothers are now engaging in an earning role, and more men have progressive gender

role attitudes. In addition, various policies for helping work and family reconciliation have been introduced since the 1990s. Through this intensive research on mother's everyday lives, however, I have come to the conclusion that women's everyday practice has not been altered much in spite of all this progressive overview from aggregated data. Discontinuity is still the key characteristic of Korean female employment. Men do not much share the caring role in the domestic sphere. The state is not much involved in women's everyday practice of motherhood as a significant resource apart from a certain group of mothers. The caring responsibility largely remains the women's job with some reallocations between different generations and different classes. The argument made by Cho H.-C. in 1985, 'only a few chosen women can manage work and family successfully (without breaks in employment)', still seems to be true for working mothers who live in the beginning of the new century in Korea.

Appendix 1

Topic Guide

- **Explaining the research**

- **Personal background information**

The interviewee is asked to fill in the demographical information sheet provided. This covers the following items.

-Marital status -Age -Number of children and their age -Occupation / status / working hours for both the interviewee and her husband -Family income -Household type (number of family members in the household and their relationship)

- **History of employment**

Please tell me your employment history from the beginning of your working life.
Including - Characteristics of the job such as flexibility and autonomy
- Proportion of female employees
- Any changes in jobs or employers and reasons for that.
- Employer's policy for working mothers
- Experience of using maternity and parental leave (difficulties and feelings)

- **Childcare arrangements**

Please tell me your past and present childcare arrangement for your child/children, both regular and irregular childcare.
Including - How you get the information,
- With whom you have discussed
- Why you decided to provide care for your children in that particular way.
- What issues were important to you in your decision
- Any difficulties in arranging childcare
- Any changes in childcare arrangement and the reasons for that.

- Satisfaction with current and previous childcare arrangement

● Family support for childcare

Could you please describe your feeling or opinion about using family care, especially depending on your mother or mother-in-law?
If you have received help from your family members, could you please describe the process in detail?
Were (Are) there any difficulties? How do your family members feel about providing care?
If you have no experience of using family members, then what was the reason?
Would you like to use family care if available?
Do you think you would provide care for your grandchildren in the future?

● Sharing responsibility

Could you tell me to what extent your husband participates in childcare or in domestic work?
Including - Is there any fixed rule between you and your husband?
- Whose responsibility the following are; collecting information about childcare: monitoring the childcare: routine work for dropping off and collecting the child: making arrangement for the sick child.

Could you describe your feeling about the current sharing between you and your husband?
Do you feel satisfied with the role of you and your husband?

● Views and attitudes about working mothers

Could you tell me how you perceive other's view about working mothers?
Including – People in general / What do people nowadays think about working mothers?
- Close friends and neighbours / Are most of your friends and neighbours working or non-working? How do they think about working mothers?
- Family members / How do your family members (within extended family network) think about working mothers? What do they expect from you (either bringing more income into the household or fulfilling your role as a mother and a wife, or both?)

What is your feeling about those attitudes about working mothers?

● Being a mother and a worker; meanings, difficulties or benefits

Overall please describe your feelings about the ways of managing work and childcare.
What is the meaning of being a mother and being a worker to you?
What is your priority and what is the most important role in womanhood?
What are the difficulties or benefits in combining work and care?
If there is no barriers (money, time or job structure), then what you would like to change, if any?

● Final question

The interview has covered many issues about living as a working mother. Is there anything you would like to share with me?

Appendix 2

Index chart for analysis

1. Demographics

- Marital status
- Age
- Number and age of Children
- Education
- Job
- Family income
- Living with
- Any benefit from the government

2. Childcare arrangement

- Changing patterns
- Reasons for choosing/changing
- Problems in arranging alternative care
- Emergency care
- Other's help
- Ideal types of childcare and why

3. Process of making arrangement

- How to get information
- Further action for searching
- Discussion
- Important Criteria
- Meaning of good quality care

4. Granny and other family care

- View about granny care and family care
- Experience of using family care
- Reasons for using (not using) it
- Process of arranging family care
- Willingness to provide childcare in the future and why

5. Employment

- Changing patterns
- Reasons
- Available policies
- Experiences and feelings
- Future plan

6. Sharing responsibility

- Husband's participation
- Feeling about current sharing
- Reason for unequal sharing
- Expectation towards husband

7. Views and Attitudes

- Husband's attitude
- Family member's attitudes and expectation
- Friends and neighbours' view
- Priority of herself
- Meaning of work
- Meaning of good mother / role as a mother

8. Living as a working mother

- Feeling about being a working mothers
- Special strategies
- Ideological conflicts
- Practical difficulties
- Advice for other working mothers

Appendix 3

Participants

Name	Age	Occupation	Edu.	No. of child. (Years)	Family type
1 Ayoung	32	Medical doctor	U.	2 (3,2)	M
2 Surhee	36	Middle level manager	H(m)	2 (8,6)	M
3 Yujin	35	Self-employed (Interior designer)	H(m)	2 (8,5)	M
4 Seran	34	University lecturer (part-time)	H(d)	2 (7,2)+Pg.	M
5 Heejin	32	University assistant professor	H(d)	1 (3)	M
6 Lyn	35	University assistant professor	H(d)	2 (6,4)	M
7 Yuna	34	University lecturer (part-time)	H(d)	2 (5,1)	M
8 Lim	32	University assistant professor	H(d)	1 (3)	M
9 Young	36	Researcher	H(m)	2 (8,5)	M
10 Jisoo	34	Doctor (Chinese medical)	U.	1 (5)	L(d)
11 Geewon**	33	Ballerina & lecturer	H(m)	2 (7,5)	M
12 Yumi**	34	Self-employed (dance teacher)	U.	1 (6)+Pg.	M
13 Hayoung	35	Administrator (part-time)	U.	2 (8,6)	M
14 Semi	30	N.G.O staff	U.	1 (2)	M
15 Moona	29	Teacher (primary school)	H(m)	1 (3)	M
16 Sue	30	Teacher (primary school)	H(m)	2 (4,1)	M
17 Jinee	30	Post officer	U.	1 (5)	M
18 Meeran	30	Civil servant (social worker)	H(m)	2 (6,1)	M
19 Soyoung	30	Civil servant	U.	1 (2)+Pg.	M
20 Sojin	33	University staff (administrator)	U.	1 (5)	M
21 Rangee	29	Bank officer	U.	1 (2)	M
22 Chung	32	Home visiting tutor	U.	1 (3)	M
23 Dongyeon	36	Self-employed (run a kiosk)	U.	1 (2)	L(d)
24 Hyemin	38	Hat manufacturing worker	H.S.	2 (9,5)	M
25 Youngran	33	Family business worker (restaurant)	H.S.	2 (5,2)	M
26 Suyeon	32	Dressmaker (work at home)	H.S.	2 (9,2)	M
27 Jina	39	Child care worker	U.	2 (12,6)	M
28 Hyun	35	Trade union administrator	H.S.	1 (2)	M
29 Sona	34	Child care worker	H.S.	1 (1)	M
30 Sumin	40	Child care worker	U.	2 (8,6)	M
31 Eunjee	31	Dressmaker (sewing)	H.S.	2 (4,2)	M
32 Soony	35	Dressmaker (sewing)	H.S.	3 (7,5,2)	M
33 Eunhey	34	Dressmaker (sewing)	H.S.	2 (8,4)	M
34 Nayoung	34	Dressmaker (sewing)	P.S.	2 (3,5m)	L(s)
35 Mihee	35	Manufacturing worker	H.S.	2 (4,1)	M
36 Chayeon	26	Clerical assistant	H.S.	2 (3,1)	M
37 Geeho	32	Dressmaker (sewing)	H.S.	1 (4)	L(d)
38 Minyoung	35	Self-employed (a movable snack bar)	H.S.	2 (8,5)	L(w)
39 Chongsoo	42	Waitress (part-time)	P.S.	2 (11,6)	L(d)
40 Yoenmi	39	Housework helper (part-time)	H.S.	3 (12,9,5)	L(d)
41 Gihye	45	Housework helper (part-time)	P.S.	2 (10,4)	L(w)
42 Jong	42	Housework helper (part-time)	H.S.	1 (4)	L(w)
43 Oakja	43	Waitress (part-time)	None	3 (15,13,5)	L(d)
44 Sowon**	29	Dressmaker (sewing)	M.S.	2 (4,3m)	M
45 Dasol**	35	Radio actress	U.	2 (7,3)	M
46 Won**	33	Clerical assistant	H.S.	2 (7,5)	M
47 Misu	32	Home visiting tutor (part-time)	U.	1 (5)	L(d)
48 Han**	32	Socks designer	H.S.	2 (4,2)	M
49 Jueun	28	Sales insurance goods	H.S.	2 (5,3)	M

Notes: ** Mothers who were not working at the time of interview

Education - **P. S.** Primary school
- **M.S.** Middle school
- **H. S.** High school
- **U.** University
- **H (m)** Higher education / Masters degree
- **H (d)** Higher education / Doctor degree

Number of children – Pg. Pregnant

Family type - **M** Married
- **L(d)** Divorced
- **L(s)** Separated
- **L(w)** Widowed

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